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ECONOMIC THOUGHT AS GLEANED FROM THE KAUṬILYA'S *ARTHAŚĀSTRA*

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The economic affairs like other affairs had undergone a process of evolution which resulted inestimable economic developments and contributions as reflected in the *Arthaśāstra*(AŚ) of Kauṭilya one of the great economic thinkers of his times. The Mauryan state itself took part in a number of economic activities keeping a close watch and control in sectors like, trade, treasury, commerce, agriculture, industries and labour problems etc. The role played by Kauṭilya in the process of its evolution had been very decisive.

Nevertheless, Early Indian Economic thought is a field still practically untilled, and economic thought in any age only reflects its time and life, it moves with the variation of economic condition. The economic interpretation of our past economy is one of the first fruits of the study of early Indian economic thought. That study enabled us to visualize not only the life of our ancestors but it also helped us to recognize and interpret even the purpose of their every day economic activities and affairs. Our knowledge of early economic thought acknowledged the contribution and role of great thinker like Kauṭilya and obtained for him his due position among the economists of the ancient world.

Since human knowledge can be analyzed and categorized into different sciences, economic science in ancient India was also a result of the same process which deals with the economic

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phenomena of human life. However, it can be interpreted as the set of theories, doctrines, laws and analyses applied to the study and solution of economic dimension and problem. But economic thought was not a given and fixed set of economic theories or tools and mechanisms of analysis. However, in present day economic scenario economics is a dynamic science, a feature which acquires an account of various reasons. Since human society is a complex phenomenon, a very large number of courses are likely to be at work in most cases. The different scholars could very well differ as to the choice of most relevant courses at work. An economy is a dynamic phenomenon and therefore, economic science is a dynamic one with social change, new economic questions present themselves. And man's thinking is influenced by his social and physical environment, since, the economic thought developed along two lines. One hand, within the basic framework of a free economy and its institutional set up, there is always a scope for deeper and intensive investigation which provides a basis for further analysis and theorizing. On the other hand, the very dynamism of an economy provides a basis for further investigation. In a closed or feudal economy, there is not much scope for further investigation. But free economy poses new challenges which economic thinkers have to meet.

Thus it seems that economic science is change oriented. Over successive time intervals, specific sets of economic ideas, theories, doctrines, tools and techniques acquire recognition and acceptance implying thereby that different contexts. We have different system of economic thought. Therefore, the study of the economic thought of Kauṭilya automatically becomes the study of various system of economic thought of Ancient India.

In fact, the economic thought of any civilization or age was the reflex of the life of human of that age or civilization, and the economic life of any people or epoch is again conditioned and programmed very largely by their natural and social environment. The physical background of early Indian economic could hardly have been very different from what it is at present day economic scenario. For example, the dependence of our agriculture on the monsoon and on the water supply will explain not merely the emphasis laid by the government of the present day as the provision of vast schemes of protective irrigation, but they will show, how, in early India, the provision of similar works utility was justified as much by economic statementship of Kauṭilya that rural bodies or villagers should maintain an efficient system of irrigational tank and channels of villages those who damage lakes, embankment and works of irrigation would be penalized"[1]

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1. Shamasastry R. (ed-&-tr.) *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, Mysore, edition, 1929 and 1960-61 (hereafter *Shamasastry* R. AŚ, pp. 47, 227. Kangle R.P., *The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, 3 Pts. Rep. Delhi, 1986 (hereafter as Kangle AŚ) II.I, IV.10, L.N. Rangarajan, *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, Delhi, 1992. (hereafter as L.N. Rangarajan AŚ).

The AŚ, a work of substantial importance has been attributed to Kauṭilya, who played dominating role in the formation of the Mauryan throne that expelled the Macedonian army from India. His role in the field of scholarship is undoubtly laudable, gave detailed analysis of different aspects of early Indian economy. Kauṭilya and his master work AŚ are misunderstood. Historians and economists are of the opinions that in early India, kings were self centered and their concern was the attainment of personal aggrandizement. But it is simply misconception and the misunderstanding of the scholars. We glean from AŚ various welfare measures of the state for its subjects, it speaks of kings aims:

"In the happiness of his subject lies the king's happiness; in their welfare his welfare. He shall not consider as good only that which pleases him but treat as beneficial to him whatever pleases his subject."[1A]

प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितम् ।
नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम् ।।३४

But for clear comprehension of Kauṭilya's economic thought and their applications to the present economic scenario, we have to be aware of the essential characteristics of the core content of the AŚ, such as, agriculture, mining, industries and forestry, transport, trade and commerce, taxation, wages, allowance, salaries, social security, replenishment of treasury during emergencies, provision for uniform weights and measurement, fixation of percentage of interest, regularization of marketing of commodities etc.[2] Kauṭilya states that if state passes through a deep economic crisis in that situation king should direct the superintendent of the temples to collect the property, money, gold, silvers of the temples and deposit them in the state treasury.[3]

देवताध्यक्षो दुर्गराष्ट्रदेवतानां यथास्वमेकस्थं कोशं कुर्यात्, तथैव चोपहरेत्।३८
दैवतचैत्यं सिद्धपुण्यस्थानमौपपादिकं वा रात्रावुत्थाप्य यात्रासमाजाभ्यामाजीवेत् ।।३९

Thus AŚ gives us idea that if our contemporary government in India adopt this particular

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[1A] Kangle R.P., AŚ, I.19.34, p. 26 Shamasastry R., AŚ, p. 38. T. Ganapati Sastri, *The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya*, Pts. Trivandrum, 1924-25. (hereafter as T. Ganapati Sastri AŚ) Sastri Devadatta, Hindi Tr. *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, Allahabad, 1957. (hereafter Devaddutta Sastri, AŚ).

[2] Rangarajan L.N., AŚ, pp. 14, 16, 81, 89-95, 242-293. Kangle R.P., II.12, 16, 17, 19, IV. 2, III, 14, V. 2, 3.

[3] Kangle R.P., AŚ V. 2.37-38. p. 155

Kauṭilya's economic thought then our economic crises would be solved. The AŚ further warns that "a person cannot acquire and maintain wealth, which possessed deep faith in astrology'. It is stated that "wealth will pass away from the childish man who constantly consults the stars; for wealth is the star for wealth; what will the stars do". Men without wealth do not attain their object even if with hundreds of efforts; objects are secured through objects, as elephants are through elephants set to catch them."[4]

नक्षत्रमति पृच्छन्तं बालमर्थोऽतिवर्तते ।
अर्थो ह्यर्थस्य नक्षत्रं किं करिष्यन्ति तारकाः ।।२६

नाधनाः प्राप्नुवन्त्यर्थान्नरा यत्नरातैरपि ।
अर्थैरर्थाः प्रबध्यन्ते गजाः प्रतिगजैरिव ।।२७

Thus Kauṭilya advised the king not to adopt such religious beliefs which put hurdle in the execution of his important plans, he should not hesitate to prescribe for the deposition of the wealth and property of temples in the state treasury during the grave economic emergency.

Though, Early Indian literary traditions refer four branches of knowledge such as, philosophy, religion, economic and polity. The term *Vārtā* (economics) is referred in AŚ which primarily represents *Vṛtti* or means of livelihood. It is very clearly depicted in AŚ that *Vārtā* deals with agriculture, cattle breeding and trade.[5] But in modern nomenclature, *Vārtā* deals with the economics of agriculture, trade, banking and industry, which shows that consumption, distribution, and taxation, forming a modern economic were left out of the scope of *Vārtā*. It seems that *Artha* and *Artha-Śāstra* were quite distinct, [6] the later never deals with the *artha* in the sense of wealth, which was the subject matter of *Vārtā*. Ancient literary traditions of India fully recognized the significance of economic science where the *Vārtā* was considered as essential for the material interest of the people as were the *Vedas* for their spiritual well-being.[7] K.V.R. Aiyangar rightly argued that the "aim of the ancient Indian conception of wealth was to be its material quality, its appropriability, its being the result acquisition, it's not being quite identical with gold, its consumability and its attractiveness due to scarcity."[8]

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4. Shamasastry, R. AŚ, pp. 378-79, Rangarajan L.N., AŚ, p. 637, Kangle R.P., IX, 4. 26-27, p. 225
5. Kangle R.P., AŚ, I.2, 4.
6. *Ibid*. I.4, XV.1. Vidyabhaskar Vedratna and Udayveer Sastri, (tr.) *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, 1.4, XV.1, (hereafter Vidyabhaskar AŚ).
7. *The Cultural Heritage of India*, published by The Ramakrishan Mission, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1962, pp. 655-56 (herafter as CHI).
8. Aiyangar K.V.R., *Aspects of Ancient Indian Economic Thought*, Varanasi, 1934, pp. 23-26.

Kauṭilya was aware of the significance of wealth in the scheme of life for gaining the ends of human life and were fully conscious of depressing influence of poverty. Wealth however, was regarded as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. Contrary to common notions, he condemned asceticism and held those seeking to embrace the ascetic order without discharging their duties liable to punishment.[9] Both ancient and modern economists, give predominance to rural economics, because agriculture has been the occupation of the pupils throughout ages. Along with cattle breading and doing farming agriculture contributed the most important part of *Vārtā*, which a king was enjoined to study. The AŚ speaks that concerted efforts of the state are essential to attain growth with stability in the field of state agricultural production. It is further stated that for enriching the state treasury, abundance of harvest was considered absolutely essential. Thus the attainment of maximum agricultural production was considered as basic requirement for the welfare of the subject and strengthening the state. Farmers were under an obligation to cultivate their fields. It was punishable offence for a farmer, on a tenant, to neglect or abandon his field of the time of sowing or for the farmer to take away the land from tenant.[10] Thus it seems that development of land was the principal factor in the success of agriculture. The state and the people were enjoined to strive for the prosperity of agriculture. The interests of the peasantry were guarded against distraction or nuisance by banning the intrusion of non-productive classes such as actors, dancers, singers, drummers, buffoons and wandering minstrels into village."[11] The state officers and servants were to live outside the limits of the village apparently to save peasantry from oppression. The AŚ prescribes that army men should not enter into villages except in emergency they were not to oppress peasants or have any dealings with them. It was further depicted that the army was to be used for no other purpose than fighting.[12] The economic interest of the farmers were safe guarded by fixing fair prices with a view to lowering agricultural prices.[13] A. Dasgupta rightly argues that "The Mauryan state attached considerable significance to the land holding, settlement and cultivation of land."[14] The AŚ prescribes that the state should bear in mind the settlement of the agricultural region, which had settled before, on which had not been settled before, by bringing in people from foreign lands or by shifting the overflow of population from his own country.[15] It is prescribed by Kauṭilya that in newly settled villages, agricultural operations were carried through after preparing the waste land. He states that such land worth of cultivation should be settled permanently, and economic burden should not be put on peasants, who cultivated waste land, but they should be provided with cattle and seeds to colonies waste land. It was also kept in mind that local markets were to be founded for the sale of agricultural produces and variation of fertility was to be considered while fixing the taxes on peasantry.[16] The productivity of piece of land was dependent not merely on its soil, irritability and cultivability, but on its quality of extension, size, situation and accessibility. The AŚ speaks of certain penalties if somebody abstract agricultural operation. If a person forcibly occupied the land of other, he was to be punished like a thief. Encroachment and destruction of boundaries were considered serious offences, encroachers and guilty were fined 24 paṇas. If the person encroaches land of other during the time of sowing seeds was to be punished with 12 paṇas.[17] Kauṭilya refers certain penalties for harming pastures, which were considered beneficial for the development of agricultural economy. Extremely stringent punishment has been prescribed for setting fire to pastures. Such person if found guilty, was to be thrown into fire.[18] It seems that Kauṭilya prescribed such hard punishment only in order to check completely the deliberate burning of pastures. However, it must be admitted that prescription of such stringent punishment lacked humanitarian touch. The damage of crops of peasant by the cattle, the owner of the cattle was punished by imposing fine double the amount of loss incurred. If an owner of the cattle deliberately left them to stray, he was to be punished with a fine of 24 *paṇas.*[19]

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[10] Kangle R.P., *AŚ.* I.5, III. 10.8.

[11] *Ibid.* I.1.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Ibid.* IV. 2.

[14] Dasgupta Ajit, *A History of Economic Thought*, London, 1993, p.29. (hereafter as Ajit Dasgupta)

[15] Kangle R.P., AŚ, II. 1.1.

However, we notice certain incentives prescribed by Kauṭilya to peasants, who played very vital role in agricultural economy by producing food products not only for their family members but also for those who live in urban areas. The land tenures provided incentives to peasant for better participation in agricultural operation. Prepared land was allotted for life time to the peasants. The AŚ reveals that "unprepared lands shall not be taken away from those who are preparing them for cultivation."[20] The peasant should be provided relief by the state during the famine and other calamities, and they should be provided seeds and provision.[21] The AŚ further speaks of exemption from the payment of grain tax for year together, when they had contributed to improvement of infrastructure, such as the construction of new tanks, lakes, roads, etc.; repairing neglected or ruined works of similar nature, taxes were

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16. *Ibid.* II. 4.3, II. 24, Shamasastri R., AŚ, pp. 116-117.
17. Shamasastri R., AŚ, pp. 192-194, *AAIC, op.cit.*, p.71, Kangle R.P.; *AŚ*, II. 10.1, IV. 10.
18. *Ibid.* IV. 9.
19. *Ibid.*, III. 10, Jha K.N. and Jha L.K., *Chanakya : the Pioneer Economist*, Delhi, 1997, p. 63, (hereafter Jha K.N. & Jha L.K.).
20. Kangle R.P., *AŚ*, II.1

remitted for years, for extending or restoring water sources, over-grown with weeds.[22] The AŚ prescribes proper arrangement for weight and measures for market places so that peasants could obtain reasonable price of their surplus yield. The peasants were duly helped by the state to utilize maximum irrigation facilities in order to raise production. The AŚ depicted the seasonal agricultural operations extremely essential, it is argued that peasants while engaged in agricultural works would not be arrested,[23] the peasants were given loans in forms of cash or kind. The rate of interest on such loans was at one *paṇa* and a quarter per hundred i.e. 15% per annum for non-commercial purpose. The rate of interest was higher if related to trade. Those who were engaged in over sea-trade had to pay at the rate of 20% which was highest. The Kauṭilya's theory of interest in the field of agriculture varied between five times and one third of the value of the quantity of pledged.[24] The AŚ tells us that interest on grain was not to exceed in season of good harvest, more than half when valued in terms of money. Interest on stocks was one half of the profit and it had to be regularly paid. If it was allowed to accumulate intentionally, the amount payable was to be equal to twice the share or its principal.[25] His theory of rate of interest reflects the welfare of the state. He states that, "The welfare of the state depends on the nature of the transactions they should be properly scrutinized".[26]

Thus the payment of interest when due only have been inforced through the power of law or else as Kauṭilya had so shrewdly observed the welfare of the state would have been disturbed resulting by the economics of disturbance. This implied that public welfare depended largely on the economic dealing between debtors and creditors.

Interestingly, the AŚ has prescribed reasonable relief to debtors, who, due to circumstances over which they had no control, were unable to pay interest over period during which the disability on inability least, he argued that for non-accumulation of debts were minority of the debtors, illness, stay in the teacher's house (to complete education), engaged in a sacrifice lasting for a considered period and bankrupting or extreme physical infirmity and widow etc.[27] Thus Kauṭilya reminded money lender and state agencies of their social responsibilities

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[21] *Ibid.* IV.3.

[22] Rangarajan L.N., AŚ, p. 81-82, 265-269. Kangle R.P., AŚ, III.9.

[23] Jha K.N. &- Jha L.K., *op.cit.* p. 56, AŚ III. 11.

[24] Kangle R.P., *AŚ*, XI. 1, 2, 5. Nagarajan, Foundation of Hindu Economic State, Nagpur, 1997, p. 205.

[25] Chauhan G.C., 'The Kautilyan Theory of Role of Interest: An Ingredient of Welfare State', in *ABORI*, LXXXIX, 2008, pp. 35-37.

[26] Vidyabhaskar, AŚ, III. 5, Saletore R.N., *Early Indian Economy*, 2nd Ed. Bombay, 1993, p. 668.

[27] Kangle R.P., *AŚ*. III. 11.

by giving certain exemptions and reliefs on the ground of their educational or socio-religious preoccupation which shows that Kauṭilya concern sociological values and mechanism to check the hardship of such categorizes of people living thereon.

The land-system which has been referred in the AŚ time and again is debatable and has been debated by the scholars since remotest time. The question of land ownership is still undecided, but the difference of opinion among the scholars reflects a difference on how ownership is to be defined, but it can be surmised that the actual position might have changed over the period of time. The AŚ recommended tax free land-grants to *Brahmana* priests, state official such as, superintendents, accountants, *gōpas*, *Sthānikas*, veterinary surgeon, physicians, horses trainers, and messengers,[28] might be in lieu of cash salary for their services, but they had no right to alienate by sale or mortgage. Thus the Mauryan State indicates the scarcity of coins and certain ingredient of feudal economy?

ऋत्विगाचार्यपुरोहितश्रोत्रियेभ्यो ब्रह्मदेयान्यदण्डकराण्यभिरूपदायादकानि प्रयच्छेत्,
अध्यक्षसंख्यायकादिभ्यो गोपस्थानिकानीकस्थचिकित्सकाश्वदमकजङ्घाकारिकेभ्यश्च विक्रयाधानवर्जानि ।

The Mauryan state took keen interest for the development of forests, of which it was the sole owner. The AŚ refers that it was the duty of the state to protect, develop, promote and maintain forest, emphasized the need of afforestation,[29] keeping in mind the enormous benefit of forest for mankind. Kauṭilya laid the duty of the superintendent of forest. 'The superintendent of forest shall collect timbers and other products of forest by employing those who guard productive forest, fix adequate fines, which cause any damage to productive forest.[30]

बहिरन्तश्च कर्मान्ता विभक्ताः सार्वभाण्डिकाः ।
आजीवपुररक्षार्थाः कार्याः कुप्योपजीविना ।।

Further prescribed that state should establish product forests, one for each important products, as well as factories for manufacturing goods made from the forest produce to enhance economy of the state.

Nonetheless, the great advance in agriculture in early India and the thorough knowledge of the minute details of agricultural pursuits possessed by ancient economist are seen in AŚ such as the concept of irrigation by rain, rivers, tanks, reservoirs. The number of villages were held jointly and severally liable for keeping, water, channels and tanks in efficient repair, which ensured project maintenance of irrigational works. Any damage of such works of public utility was to be urgently rectified even from resources of temples. Special facilities were to be given to those who constructed tanks, dams, wells out of piety, so that the state might receive co-operation from individuals in providing irrigation works.[31]

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[28] *Ibid*. II.1.7, p. 32 Chauhan G.C., *Origin and Growth of Feudalism in Early India*, (From the Mauryas to 650 A.D.), Delhi, 2004, p. 81

[29] Kangle R.P., AŚ II. 1-2, Rangarajan L.N., *op. cit*. PR 44, 27, 83, 88 181, 623.

[30] *Ibid*. II. 17

Land revenue was the main source of income and formed an important ingredient of the Mauryan economic system. The AŚ refers one-sixth of state share as land revenue from the peasants. But during economic emergency,[32] the AŚ prescribes one-third or one-fourth as state share. Generally a large portion of the revenue was collected in kind, and the proper keeping and periodical/ renewal of the collected stock was prescribed. Kauṭilya insists on a full and flowing treasury for the state by appropriating a large portion of the state revenue for the creation of a reserve found or treasury, which was not to be touched except on occasion of a grave calamity.[33] Thus policy of Kauṭilya on economic is quite understandable when one considers the unstable political condition of the time demanding constant preparedness for war because of constant danger from neighbouring state. Thus in early India, when state load was unknown, the only mean available for the state to tide over an economic crisis was the possession of a well-stocked treasury and granary. The AŚ depicted different sources of revenue differently at the different place. Two important categories were body of income and sources of income, each subdivided under seven heads,[34] for irrigated agriculture, a water rate was an even more important source of state revenue than the land tax.

This was payable whenever water for irrigation works was used by the peasants, even if the works belong to the peasant himself.[35] There was a graduated schedule of the rate to be changed, depending on the nature of the irrigation works used. If the works were such that the water was set in motion by land, the rate payable was one-fifth of the produce, if set in motion by shoulders, the rate was one-fourth, the latter rate also applied to lift-irrigation, water being lifted from tanks, wells, rivers and lakes while the rate increased to one-third when water was set flowing in channels by a mechanical device.[36] In all cases the water rate was addition to the normal land tax of one-sixth. This means that a peasant utilizing mechanical irrigation which used flowing water were liable to pay half of his produce as tax. The AŚ presented certain exemption from water tax for limited period of five years for newly built tanks and embankments, four years for ruined or abandoned tanks on renovated embankment, three years for those that one cleared after having become over grown with weeds.[37]

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[31] *Ibid.* II. 1-2, 24, VII, 11, VIII. 4 Rangarajan L.N., *AS, op.cit.*, pp. 78, 237-40.

[32] *Ibid.* II.6, 15.

[33] CH1, *op.cit.*, p. 665.

[34] Kangle R.P., *AŚ*, II.6. two categories such as *ayasarira* (body of income and Ayamakha, Sources of income).

[35] Dasgupta Ajit, *op.cit.*, p.34.

[36] Kangle R.P., II.24.

Now the question arises whether there were any limits to the state levying exorbitant taxes. Kauṭilya has considered the point, and he was of the view that the threat of disaffection among the subject and their possible migration to another state appears to have worked as a deterrent on kings taxing their subject beyond their means. The AŚ prescribes partial or total exemption of taxation, it is noticed that on humanitarian grounds certain classes of people like learned *Brāhmaṇas,* the dumb, the deaf, the blind, student studying in a Gurukula and hermits were exempted from paying taxes; infants, those far advances in age, women newly confined or destitute, poor widows, and people otherwise helpless were also tax free.[38] Kauṭilya, prescribed special efforts by the state to enrich the treasury during economic crises, emergencies, besides benevolences, forcible loans and donations, emergency taxes, arbitrary enhancement of normal rates and fraudulent and forcible collection under several pretexts, which are exhaustively dealt with by Kauṭilya, who prescribes to the sale of divine images and the entire property of the religious shrines was to be confiscated. The dramatists, singers, dancer, prostitutes had to pay 50% of their income as compulsory payments to the state.[39] Thus certain undesirable methods to enrich the state treasury during economic crises was the practice of the Mauryan times. But state officials, drawing high amount as salary, were left unaffected during economic crises.

The development of mineral resources was the important state activity and special attention for the exploitation of mines was paid and considered mining as the important source of state income. The mining during the Mauryan times was directly connected with various kinds of industrial production. The AŚ speaks of the opulence of industrial production contributed significantly in enriching the treasury. All mines belonged to the Mauryan state were put under the supervision of the superintendent of mines who must be an expert in *Śulbaśāstra,* geology and *dhātuśāstra,* metallurgy.[40] The digging of new mines and the renewal of old discarded ones was an important duty of the superintendent of mines. Kauṭilya states that those mines are the best which yield rich ores, are easily accessible and capable of being operated at a small cost. Diamond and gold mines were highly preferred.[41] But Kauṭilya was

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37. *Ibid.* II. 9.
38. Kangle R.P., AŚ. II, 1. 7-18, III. 9-33.
39. *Ibid.* V. 2, Rangarajan L.N., *op.cit.*, pp. 14-16, 55, 265-269.
40. *Ibid.* II. 12.1, II. 12.7.
41. *Ibid.* VII.12, Dasgupta Ajit, *op.cit.*, p.30.

in favour of a large mine, even if it yields products of small economic value, as the ground that products of small economic value command continuous sale, but the product of high economic value have a limited sale and demand particularly among the common people.[42] Although all mines belonged to the state, but not all of them were to be worked directly by the state. The mines with high operating cost were leased out, on for a fixed rent.[43] Kauṭilya prescribes that all salt mines should be leased out for a share on hire.[44] Thus credit goes to Kauṭilya for providing new dimension to the exploitation of mines and setting up separate department for operating mine and manufacture of metals.

However, the early Indian economy was an agricultural economy; the fertile Indo-Gangetic plains provided ample scope for the greeted industrial enterprise in the form of agriculture. But other industrial or agricultural products and natural wealth of the land also developed during Mauryan times. Sugar industry was the most important industry of early India. Kauṭilya suggests that the lands that are frequently over flown by water for long are suitable for growing sugar cane, and the forming of sugar-cane possessed the risk of facing flood or flood like situation, comparatively the cost of production of growing sugar cane was much greater. The AŚ prescribes that the special efforts and expenditure were required for transporting and crushing reaped sugar-cane.[45] Thus the sugar production was considered as most difficult and worst in agricultural production system.

Another industrial activity of the Mauryan state which was given considerable attention was textiles. The Artisans of the Mauryan state had attained a high degree of proficiency in spinning and weaving fine textiles. The Mauryan economy was partly pastoral and partly agricultural. As such tending of cattle and shearing of goats and sheep hair constituted important occupation, resulting in the weaving of woolen clothes. Textile industries during the Mauryan were not state monopoly, but Kauṭilya refers to private production. However, the Mauryan state was expected to engage in production of textile on an extensive scale, and to maintain strict state control and supervision of that part of industry which was in private hand.[46] The AŚ refers to the *Sūtradhyakśā* who was suppose to get yarn spun from wool, bark-fiber cotton, hemp and flax by woman, especially those without support, women from respectable families should be allowed to spin in their homes. The officer in charge was directed to look after the manufacture of ropes, thongs and straps, useful for carts, chariots, etc., used in the army.[47] The AŚ prescribes that those women who do not stir out of their houses, those whose husbands are gone abroad and those who are cripple or girls may, when obliged to work for subsistence, be provided with work in due courtesy through the medium of maid servant while making construction in a new fort, places were allotted to artisans in a corners of a fort, guild of artisans and cooperation of workmen resided within the fort. It was on the sweet will of the artisans to allow others of their profession to reside in the locality.[48] Thus besides giving protection to the workers and artisans, state also kept a strict watch over their mal-practices and mischief's. Ratio of raw material and finished goods were fixed. Adulterations in commodities were properly supervised and monetary and corporal punishment was suggested to anti-social workers. [49] We notice plethora of reference to various guilds and corporation in AŚ. Kauṭilya states that the guilds of artisans as well as those who carry on any co-operative work shall divide their earning either equally or as agreed upon among themselves, [50] certain artisans working independently with their own capital and in their own work-shop. Whereas the artisans working in guild system, guaranteed the customer against loss, damage, etc., caused by artisans. Even there were master artisans, employing a number of artisans to do work for the customers and earning a profit, the delay in delivery and failure to carry out the customers instructions were offence punishable by the state.[51] During the Mauryan times guild had became very rich and powerful and some of them maintained troops of their own. The AŚ refers to the danger of provoking these corporations and advocates several methods of exploiting them in the king's name.[52] The potential danger to the state from the unrestrained power to these guilds seems to underlie the severe regulation restricting their activities. Another important responsibility of the Mauryan state was to arrange for storage of a wide variety of goods. The construction of the stores is described at length. The part of the stores was made up of goods produced by state and enterprise, the rest was received by the state in kind. The store provided a convenient means of creating buffer stocks and preventing a wide fluctuation in rice, the director of the trade being expected to buy when there was a slut and sell when there was scarcity.[53]

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[42] *Ibid.* VII. 12. 14-16.

[43] *Ibid.* II. 2.22.

[44] *Ibid.* II 12.28.

[45] *Ibid.* II. 14-15.

[46] *Ibid.* II. 23, Dasgupta Ajit, *op.cit.*, p. 32.

The media of exchange was also an important ingredient of the Mauryan state. Throughout the Mauryan times, money has been an important media of exchange. It has on the one hand

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47. *Ibid*. II. 23.11, 18-19.
48. *Ibid*. II 4, 38.
49. *Ibid*. II. 14-15.
50. *Ibid*. II, 4-6, Rangarajan L.N., *AS, op.cit.*, pp. 95, 181, 252.
51. *Ibid*. IV. 1. 5-7.
52. *Ibid*. XI. 1.
53. *Ibid*. II. 5, 1-6, Dasgupta Ajit, *op.cit.* p. 33.

relieved the commercial and economic fields from the defects of barter system while on the other guaranteed a great impetus to payments for goods or carrying other kinds of business obligations. The AŚ refers to several types of coins, such as gold, silver and copper coins. The coinage was a state monopoly and the special official under the Mint Master received bullion from the public to be struck into coins on payment of seignior age changes.[54]

However, trade was one of the most significant economic activities in Mauryan state and received a large part of its income from trade and was having monopoly over the manufacturing of a large variety of goods. The AŚ tells us that it was made obligatory for traders to get license, while foreign traders were required to get passport in addition. Kauṭilya classified trade into two distant categories - *Svabhūmija,* indigenously produced or *pārabhūmija*, produced in foreign lands. Indigenous good belonging to the state were sold in one place, presumably, the capital city, where all state stores were located. Imported goods were to be sold in a number of centers. In both the interests of the customers were to be kept in mind while fixing the selling price. The AŚ prescribes that a large profit must be avoided if it was harmful to the subjects, especially in the case of commodities constantly in demand.[55] The AŚ refers two factors to be considered in fixing value of price were (a) the cost of production as determining the supply; and (b) the demand for article as determined by its utility.[56] Whole scale price for goods were fixed by the superintendent of commerce, as they passed the custom house. A margin of profit was allowed to retailers. The public, consumers and customers were protected by the state, which employed an army of spies and market inspectors against unauthorized price and fraudulent transactions. Goods had to be sold at fixed market, places, and the dealer had to specify particulars as to quality, quantity and price, which were scrutinized and recorded in official book.[57] The superintendent of commerce not only prevented or minimized the chances of deceit, or of undue advantage being taken by the seller over the buyer, but also ensuring that the prices were not exorbitant or unconscionable and that the material, its style, quantity, or measure precisely corresponded to the terms of the bargain.[58] Normally state goods were sold by the state officials but the help of private traders was sought. In that case, traders were required to pay a fee, to make up for the loss of profit which the state would have earned by sale through its officials.[59] The involvement of private traders in selling state goods indicates the ingredients of the privatization of trade even during the Mauryan period, which is considered the feature of present day economic trends and ideas.

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54. *Ibid.* II. 12-14.
55. *Ibid.* II. 16, 4-6.
56. *Ibid.*
57. CHI, *op.cit.*, p. 661.
58. Kangle R.P., II. 16, 11, 21, IV. 2. Rangarajan L.N., *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 77, 91-93, 242-248.
59. *Ibid.* II. 16. 8-16.

However, the economic advantages of both inland and foreign trade were duly recognized. The organization of castes and guild led not only to localization of industry, but also to the creation of special local market for the sale of product. The freedom of the market was implied in the rule prohibiting the king from going into the market with his retinue. The existence of grade of middle men, between retail traders and the powerful magnates who were able to create 'corners' and to manipulate the market in their own interest was not only implied but provided against.[60] The officer in charge of trade was to arrange for the export of state goods to foreign lands. When undertaking such a venture, he was to taken to consideration all relevant factors such as costs of transport, duties prevailing prices in different places and so on to determine the profitable. He could also investigate the possibility of bartering state goods for those from foreign lands.[61] The general principle of export-import trade was to ensure profit. Should there be no profit, he should see it there is any advantage in taking out goods or in bringing goods in exchange for goods and along river routes he should ascertain condition of trade before hand and should proceed to where there is profit, avoiding places where no profit can be had.[62] They had to secure new market for the surplus products of the country. Rest houses and store-houses were to be provided for traders, for whose protection proper police escorts were also recommended. River boats and ocean going ship were to be pressed into services. The AŚ prescribes that the state administration must granted it security against thieves, forest tribes, wild forest folk, etc.; and undertook to make good losses in transit.[63] The AŚ further prescribes to encourage import, suitable rebates to foreign traders, if current rate did not leave a proper margin of profit for them.[64] To encourage, promote and facilitate trade, both inland and foreign state were enjoined to improve and increase the means of communication and transports. Thus Kauṭilya refers several trading facilities which were afforded to encourage foreign trade. Foreign merchant could sue in Indian court and were protected from being harassed by suits against them in local courts.

Kauṭilya accepted that in spite of all precautions; it was impossible to eradicate corruption from amongst the state employees who participated in financial transaction. He states that "just as it is not possible not to taste honey or poison placed on the surface of the tongue, even so it is not possible for one dealing with the money of the state not to taste the money in however small a quantity."[65]

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[60] *Ibid*. IV. 2.

[61] *Ibid*. II. 16.

[62] *Ibid*. II. 16. 16-25. Rangaranjan L.N., *op.cit.* pp. 83, 182, 242, 307, 326-348.

[63] *Ibid*. II. 21, 22, 28, 34, IV. 13.

[64] *Ibid*. II. 16.

[65] *Ibid*. II. 9.32, p. 48.

यथा ह्यनास्वादयितुं न शक्यं जिह्वातलस्थं मधु वा विषं वा ।
अर्थस्तथा ह्यर्थचरेण राज्ञः स्वल्पोऽप्यनास्वादयितुं न शक्यः ।।

The AŚ depicted that, 'just as fish moving under water cannot possibly be found out either as drinking or not drinking water, so the state employee carrying out state work cannot be found out while taking money for themselves''.

मत्स्या यथान्तःसलिले चरन्तो ज्ञातुं न शक्याः सलिलं पिबन्तः ।
युक्तास्तथा कार्यविधौ नियुक्ता ज्ञातुं न शक्या धनमाददानाः ।।

Kauṭilya prescribes the transfer of state employee from one work to another work or one place to another place, so they could not misappropriate government money[66].

बहुमुख्यमनित्यं चाधिकरणं स्थापयेत् ।

Thus it is very clear that the problem of corruption among the state employee is as old as early Indian state and not the practice of modern time only. It seems to be a universal practice from ancient to present time, which is not accepted fact in our modern administrative system. But AŚ also prescribes certain incentives to those employees who enhance the state revenue instead of eating it up, and loyally devoted to the state services, should be made permanent in state services.[67] Even AŚ refers forty ways of embezzlement of revenue of the state by its officials. All possible efforts were suggested by Kauṭilya to minimize the practices of corruption among the government employees.

The AŚ prescribes and discusses the principles on which salaries of the various state/ government officers and employees should be determined. The amount of salaries paid to different grades of employees during the Mauryan times reflected some basic aspects of an economy.[68] Monthly salary was prescribed by Kauṭilya in terms of *Paṇa*, which were legal tender as well as medium of exchange. A *Paṇa* contained silver equal to three-forth of *Tolā* (10 gm).[69] The silver content of a *Paṇa* in the present time will be approximately of the value of rupee fifty. The salaries were fixed on a cash basis but could be paid in kind or as a mixture of the two; a formula is given for converting a part of salary into a mixture of mostly grain and a little cash. An official could, in lieu of a part of his salary be allotted land to be formed by him for his own benefit but such land could neither be sold nor mortgaged and could be used only as long as he held the office.[70] The paying state officers through land grants is the indication of the presence of the ingredients of feudal economy. The principles of salary fixation as depicted in AŚ as follows:

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[66] *Ibid.* II 9. 33, 31.

[67] *Ibid.* II. 9.36.

[68] *Ibid.* II. 8.20.

[69] *Ibid.* V. 3, Rangarajan L.N., *op.cit.* pp. 289-293. Jha K.N.-&- Jha L.K., *op.cit.*, p. 224.

The total salary bill of the state shall be determined in accordance with the capacity (to pay) of the city and the country sides and shall be (about) one quarter of the revenue of the state. The salary scales shall be such as to enable the accomplishment of state activities (by attaching the right type of people), shall be adequate for meeting the bodily needs of state servants and shall not be in contradiction to the principle of *dharma* and *artha*. If the (amount of the actual cash in the) Treasury is inadequate salary may be paid (partly) in forest produce, cattle or land, supplemented by a little money.[71] However, in the case of the settlement of virgin lands, all salaries shall be paid in cash; no land shall be allotted (as a part of the salary) until the affairs of the (new) village are fully stabilized.[72] The AŚ further states that salary of any individual employee, permanent or temporary, shall be fixed in accordance with the principles of salary fixations, taking into account each one's level of knowledge and expertise in the work allotted.[73] The AŚ refers to special provision for the honorarium for teachers and learned men as minimum 500 *paṇas* and a maximum of 1000 *paṇas* (for each occasion).[74] Traveling allowances are prescribed for middle grade officers as 10 *paṇas* per *yojana*, upto 10 *yoganas* - 20 *paṇas* per *yojana*, between 10 to 100 *yojana*. If any government officer dies during his duty, his sons and wives shall be entitled to his salary and food allowances. Minor children and old or sick relatives shall be (suitably) assisted economically.[75]

Conclusion: Economic thought of Kauṭilya attracted the attention of scholars all over the world. Probably no early human civilizations practically witnessed the economic system prevailed as envisaged in the AŚ of Kauṭilya. But it is also true that AŚ does not discuss wholly impossible utopias; the economic thought was often pedantic, but usually more or less feasible. However, it is not likely that any state conducted its affairs wholly on textbook lines and the prescriptions of the experts were not always put into practice. The so called state controlled economy of the Mauryan kings was confined to the middle Genetic plains, which did not last during the later Mauryan times and post-Mauryan periods, where land seems to have been newly in possession of individual farmers and peasants. The controlled cultivation was replaced by individual cultivation. But we must bear in mind that Kauṭilya had little interest in ethical issues, unlike the Buddhist. However, Kauṭilya categories three types of goals such as spiritual goals, material well being and sensual pleasure, but he advocated that material well being alone is supreme, spiritual goals and sensual pleasure depend on material well being. Thus, he states, it is wealth not stars, that leads to achievement of any kind.

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[70] Rangarajan L.N., *op.cit.*, p. 179, Kangle R.P., *AS*, II. 2.7.

[71] Thanawala Kishor, '*Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra:* A Neglected work in the History of Economic Thought', in B.B. Price, (Ed). *Ancient Economic Thought*, Vol. I, New York, 1997, pp. 43-57. Kangle, R.P. *AŚ*, V. 3. 1-2.

[72] *Ibid*. V. 3.52.

[73] *Ibid*. V. 4.33.

[74] *Ibid*. V. 3, 18-21, 28-30.

[75] Rangarajan L.N., *op.cit.* pp. 289-292. Kangle R.P., the *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, Part III, Delhi, Rep. 1986, pp. 208-210.

B. Breloer is of the view that the Mauryan economy was a planned economy and points out that Kauṭilya economic planning was necessitated by the very circumstances and factors presented in early India occasioned by climate and nature.[76] He further argues that there is no trace of such a planned economy in European theories until recent time.[77] His extensive work on Kauṭilya planned economy can be negated from the stand point of modern economics. Kauṭilya presented virtually as an anticipator of economic planning. This is a serious proposition and eminently opens to challenge and negation. Breloer had been trained in Marxist tradition and ideology, and influenced by Russian and Marxist ethos and ideas. Thus it is inevitable that he would want to compare and trace the idea of Russian planned economy model with that of early Indian Economy of the Mauryan times. The economic planning was indeed in one sense such a simple, elementary and human category that almost every individual even of the most primitive times may be said to be an economic planner in so far as he makes provisions for the future. Similarly every state that make a yearly budget is also used to planning out the future ahead.[78] In a more limited sense economic planning implies his intervention of the state in the private economy of its citizen, even modern state also control and interfere in the private economy through certain laws. This is almost an eternal as well as a universal fact of economic history from the remotest times. 'The regulation of prices, wages and interest, the prescription as to the kind of food grains to grow, the control of commerce by tolls, excise and customs, the redistribution of national wealth and income by taxation and currency, manipulations and of course, the promotion of public health *Vidyās, Kalās*, arts and services etc.; have been the regular features of state activities in the East and the west.[79] Breloer used a common place category economic planning without distinguishing its old and new contents. But we must bear in mind that modern economic planning has to be distinguished from the kind of planning visualized in *Arthaśāstra*. The modern concept of economic planning or for the development, the state prepares a plan which may spread over a certain number of years, lays down priorities in the matter of development, allocates resources in men and capital in accordance with the priorities and watches over the progress of the plan in the various field from year to year, but AŚ does not prescribed these things.

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[76] Sarkar B.K., 'Kauṭilya, Economic Planning and Climatology', in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vole, XX, Calcutta, 1935, pp. 329, 356.

[77] Breloer B. quoted by R.P. Kangle in *The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, Part II, rep. Delhi, 1986, p. 191.

[78] Sarkar B.K., *Loc. Cit*, p. 343.

How far does the picture of economic thought gleans from the AŚ conform to actual conditions? This is indisputable that some sort of control over economic activities was necessary in the interest of the state revenue. But we cannot state in precision that Kauṭilya was directly associated with the economic policy of the Mauryan state. As a matter of fact, the economic thought depicted in AŚ might not be the innovation of Kauṭilya, there might be derived from earlier traditions. The AŚ of Kauṭilya prescribed the model of mixed economy, in which private and public sectors played their important role. It prescribed for the adoption of standardized weight and measures for the entire economy. Kauṭilya was aware of the fact that regularized marketing and provision of cheap credit were basic requirement for the rapid and stable economy. Some of the features of the Kauṭilya economy are adopted by states of modern world. The state had monopoly in the production of served goods and participated with private entrepreneurs in the exploration of mines. Fixed rate of interest and profit were prescribed. Traders were compelled to use standard weight and measures, the implication of a comprehensive programme of social security measures. Utmost care was taken to promote economy and the welfare of the people which was the main agenda of the Mauryan state.

Thus it can be surmised from the analytical survey of AŚ that some of the Kauṭilya's economic thought keep relevance in the present day economic scenario.

The AŚ of Kauṭilya emphasized to pay proper attention for a forestation. He advocated the adoption of monoculture of some valuable trees species to enrich the forest reserve of the country. The AŚ prescribed for the proper maintenance of recreational forest. Wildlife protection was given due importance, chief credit and marketing was prescribed in order to accelerate the tempo of economic growth. Kauṭilya suggest the maximum irrigation facility in farming to attain growth with stability, and was in favour of regularized marketing system in the field of agricultural production. Kauṭilya paid supreme importance to the maintenance of rich treasury, which favourably affected entire activities of the state. In his opinion the augmentation of the treasury depends mainly on abundance of harvest, opulence of industrial production, prosperity of trade and commerce as well as on good economic management. The AŚ prescribed that

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79. *Ibid.*

the dependants of deceased employees of the state, must provided maintenances those economic security measures adopted by the state keep relevance in the present time.

Thus, it can be surmised that the Mauryan state must run a diversified economic activity, efficiently, prudently and profitably. The kings were advised to be ever active in the management of economy because the root of wealth was economic activity inactivity brings material distress. Without any active state economic policy, both current prosperity and future gains are destroyed. Thus state should be active in managing the economy because source of material wealth is economic activity. Without it natural well being is not possible. And kings were advised to maintain a diversified economy, within the limits of the technology available at that time. It is very clearly depicted in AŚ that *artha* has a much wider significance than merely 'wealth'. The material well-being of an individual was a part of it. As AŚ in its concluding part depicted that the source of the livelihood of human being is wealth which is both the territory of the state and its inhabitants who may follow a variety of profession. Thus it is the sacred duty of government of a state/nation to maintain the material well-being of the nation and its people.

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AN EDITION OF THE *LAKṢMĪKĀNTAŚIKṢĀ* OR THE *VARṆAKRAMACATUŚŚLOKĪ*

Deepro Chakraborty•

This article intends to provide an edition of the *Lakṣmīkāntaśikṣā* (LS) which is one of the important *śikṣās* of the *Taittirīya* school of the *Kṛṣṇayajurveda*. The composer of this *śikṣā* is Lakṣmīkānta after whom this text is named *Lakṣmīkāntaśikṣā* or *Lakṣmīśikṣā*. We, however, do not know anything directly about him. The text itself gives its name as *Varṇakramacatuśślokī* (*vide*: the concluding verse) as the main text comprises 4 verses *(śloka)*. The main subject matter of this work is duplication *(dvitva)* and increment *(āgama)* of Vedic sounds. These topics are very essential to know for a Vedic recitor who recites the phonic sequences *(varṇakrama)* especially the simple one *(kevalavarṇakrama)*. Without knowing the rules of duplication and increments a recitor cannot recite the reading of the simple phonic sequence correctly.

Though it is a small work comprising only four core verses, this *śikṣā* is quite popular among the *Taittirīyas*. In a manuscript of the *Sarvasammataśikṣā* along with Mañcibhamma's commentary, a post-colophonic verse refers to nine *śikṣā*-s of the *Taittirīya* school among which the LS has been reckoned in the second position.[1] Rājā Ghanapāṭhin, the author of the *Sarvalakṣaṇamañjarī*, quotes a passage which explicitly puts the LS in the second position among the nine major *śikṣā* texts of the *Taittirīya* school.[2]

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1. व्यासो लक्ष्मीर्भरद्वाजः शम्भुः कपिलनिर्मिताः । कौहलीयः कालात्रेयारण्यशिक्षा नव स्मृताः ।। Aithal, 1993, p. 651

2. प्रथमा व्यासशिक्षा च लक्ष्मीशिक्षा द्वितीयका । भारद्वाजी तृतीया च शिक्षाऽऽरण्या तुरीयका ।। पञ्चमी शम्भुशिक्षा च षष्ठी चापिशली तथा । सप्तमी पाणिनेः शिक्षा अष्टमी कौहली तथा ।। वासिष्ठी नवमी चैवं नव शिक्षाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।। (Sastri, 1976, p. 187). *Vide Taittirîyaprâtiúâkhyasya Bhûmikâ* (Sastri & Rangacarya, 1906, p. 22). Almost the same verse is found at the end of two texts, viz. a commentary on the *Svarasampat* (Aithal, 1993, p. 694) and the *Saṃhitâprakâra Ekâdaúa,* Aithal, 1993, p. 629

A very few attempts have been made by scholars to bring this *śikṣā* into light. Raghu Vira transcribed a text with the name *'Lakṣmīkāntaśikṣā-vyākhyā'* which is later published by his son Lokesh Chandra (Chandra, 1981, pp. 290-307). But unfortunately this text is not the *Catuśślokī Lakṣmīkāntaśikṣā*. Aithal discovers that the text edited by Raghu Vira is identical with another text called *Uccasvaranirṇaya* (Aithal, 1993, p. 525). Aithal himself transcribed this text from some manuscript (most probably preserved in Adyar Library) in his famous bibliography of the *Vedalakṣaṇa* texts (*ibid*, pp. 523-524). This transcription cannot be called a proper edition of the LS as Aithal does not apply his critical acumen in his presentation, as a result of which a number of editorial errors occur. Peter Freund's transcription uploaded on the website of Maharishi University of Management, Fairfield, Iowa, USA is a mere copy of Aithal's transcription generating a few more faults.[3] No other edition or translation of this text has hitherto come out.

Manuscript Materials:

This edition is based on three manuscripts and Aithal's transcription mentioned above. The *sigla* used for these sources are as follows: VL (Aithal's Devanāgarī transcription), H, L and V. Brief description of the manuscripts:

H : Title : *Varṇakramalakṣaṇam*
Repositiory :Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg
Call No. : Cod. Palmblatt 0003_8_133
Size : 9 X 35 cm
Material : Palm leaf
Character : Grantha
Condition : Good, well-conserved
Scribe : Urutimi Cakram Ayyaṅgār
Leaves : 1
Comment : Last 2*pādas* of the verse 4 are missing

L : Title : *Lakṣmīkāntaśikṣā*
Repositiory : Punjab University Library, Lahore
Call No. : 7095
Material : Paper
Character : Grantha
Condition : Good, well-conserved
Leaves : 2

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[3] Retrieved September 15, 2014, from http://is1.mum.edu/vedicreserve/shiksha.htm.

V : Title : *Varṇaśikṣā*
Repositiory : Saraswati Bhawan Library, Varanasi.
Call No. : 47959
Accession no : 20476
Size : 12 X 29½ cm
Material : Paper
Character : Devanāgarī
Condition : Good
Leaves : 2
Comment : Incomplete. Entirely erroneous.

The Text and the Translation:

Benedictory verse:

रक्षा वैदिकवर्णानां शिक्षा दुर्मतिरक्षसाम् ।
लक्ष्मीं दद्याच्चतुःश्लोकी लक्ष्मीकान्तस्य भूतिवत् ॥

May Lakṣmīkānta's [work] consisting of four verses, which is the protection of the Vedic phones and the lesson against the harms caused by false notions, bestow prosperity profusely.

Main Text:

अच्पूर्वं हलि हल् द्विरुक्तमपि च स्पर्शो लवोर्ध्वः स्वराद्
ऊर्ध्वाद् राद्धलि वाऽचि वा हलपि वाऽनुस्वारयुक्तादिमौ ।
द्वावन्योन्यसहायतोऽन्तग-न-ङौ ह्रस्वात् परावच्परौ[4]
द्वेद्वेस्तोऽपि च पूर्वमागममितस्तुर्यद्वितीयौ[5] हलौ ॥१॥

A consonant, which is preceded by a vowel and followed by a consonant, is duplicated and the stop that is preceded by *l* or *v* [which in turn occurs] after a vowel is also [duplicated]. [No matter] whether followed by a vowel or a consonant, a consonant is [duplicated] when preceded by *r*. Both *ṃ (anusvāra)* occurring after a short vowel and the [first] consonant of the [subsequent] consonant-cluster should be duplicated because of their mutual dependency.[6] After a short vowel the final (occurring at the end of a word) *n* and *ṅ* become duplicated if

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4. L reads परावस्थितौ
5. Aithal (1993, p. 524) and H read *'turyadvitîyam'* which seems to be erroneous and not supported by L.
6. Cf. 'ह्रस्वाद् द्वित्वमनुस्वारः प्राप्नुयात् संयुते परे । तदनुस्वारपूर्वश्च संयोगादिर्द्विरुच्यते ॥' — *Vyâsaúikṣâ* (Sastri, 1976, p. 131).

followed by a vowel. Moreover, a second (*dvitīya* i.e. the second member of a *varga*) and a fourth (*caturtha* i.e. the fourth member of a *varga*) attain the increment *(āgama)* of the previous phone [instead of duplication].

भूते धाम च पाथ एष परमात्यात्यग्रगाः पूर्वगाः
किं चोर्ध्वा उपसर्गतश्छ-खि-भुजा लक्ष्यात् क्वचित् पूर्वगाः ।
तन्मध्ये प्रथमागमश्च[7] सदृशः स्पर्शेऽप्यघोषोष्मणा-
मूर्ध्वेऽधः[8] प्रथमो भजेत्[9] सषशतोऽनन्तो[10] द्वितीयं न वा ।।२।।

When [the words] *bhūte, dhāma, pātha, eṣa, parama, ati* and *āti* and also the prepositions are the antecedents, [there might be] increments of the previous phones before *ch, khi* and *bhuja*. Somewhere the increments of the previous phone might take places in accordance with the definable (*lakṣya* i.e. the pronunciation of the Veda). After a voiceless fricative (i.e. a sibilant) [and] before a stop, there is an increment of the first [member of] the same [*varga* to which the subsequent stop belongs]. However, after *s, ṣ* and *ś,* a non-final first should not attain the second.

नोष्मा तु प्रथम-स्वरात् प्रथमतो नानुत्तमे हल् परे
वर्ग्येऽनुत्तम उत्तमे न न विसर्गो रो[12] ह-श-स्पर्शगः ।
लो[13] वः स्पर्शपरश्च नश्च यवहात् पूर्वो[14] ऽन्तगो न द्विधा
मः पूर्वोऽप्यनुनासिकं च य-व-ल-स्पर्शात् सवर्णं भजेत्[15] ।।३।।

However, a fricative does not [undergo duplication] when it occurs right before a first or a vowel. A consonant followed by a stop, which is not the last *(anuttama)* and belongs to the same series *(varga)*, is not duplicated. [It is, however, not the fact that] a non-last *(anuttama)*,

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7. प्रथमागमोऽप्य

8. VL and L reads...मूर्ध्वाधः; H reads दूर्ध्वेधः

9. L reads भवेत्

10. VL reads नान्तो

11. H reads हल्समे

12. VL and L read लो

13. L reads रो

14. H reads पूर्वे

15. L reads भवेत्

followed by a last *(uttama)*[16], is not duplicated. *Ḥ (visarjanīya)* and *r* are never [duplicated]. *L* followed by *h* or *ś* or a stop[17], *v* followed by a stop[18], and n preceding *y* or *v* or *h*, are not duplicated.[19] Also, *m* preceding *y, v, l* or a stop should turn into the corresponding homogenous *(savarṇa)* nasalized form.

ङोऽनन्तात् तधयोः क्रमेण परतः स्यातां कगावागमौ
ङात् कः स्याट्ट-नतस्तु तश्च सषयोः स्पर्शादनूष्मात्मनः ।
ऊर्ध्वस्थेष्वपि चोत्तमेषु च यमान् आहुस्तथाऽनुत्तमाद्
नासिक्यं नणमैर्युताद् यजुषि हाद् ञः स्याच्छपूर्वस्य(स्तु ?) नः ।।४।।[20]

After a non-final *ṅ* which is followed by *t* or *dh* an increment of *k* or *g* respectively should be there.[21] There should be *k* after *ṅ* and *t* after *ṭ* or *n* before *s* or *ṣ*.[22] When the non-last stop[s], which are originally not the product of the fricative[s], precede subsequent lasts, [the sounds incremented in-between] are called twin-sounds *(yama)*. There should be a nose-sound *(nāsikya)*[23] after *h* which is combined with *n, ṇ* or *m*. *N* preceded by *ś* should become ñ [exclusively] in the *Yajurveda* [of the *Taittirīya* school].

Concluding Verse:

वर्णक्रमचतुःश्लोकीं वर्णक्रमविचक्षणाः ।
पाठतश्चार्थतो ज्ञात्वा विजयध्वं .दिशो दश ।।

Let them, who are skillful in [reciting] the phonic sequences *(varṇakrama)*, win the ten directions having understood the *varṇakramacatuśślokī* (the tetra-verse text dealing with the phonic sequences) in terms of its reading as well as of its meaning.

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16. The term *uttama* refers to the final sound of each series or *varga* i.e. the nasals.
17. Ex. *malhú, úatavalúam, kalppâñjuhoti* etc.
18. Cf. 'वकारः स्पर्श उत्तरे ।' — *Vyâsaúikṣâ* (Sastri, 1976, p. 136). Ex. *âgrâvṇṇaḥ*

19 Cf. यवहेषु परस्थेषु नकारश्चान्तगस्त्विति ।'— *Vyâsaúikṣâ* (Sastri, 1976, p. 138).

20 VL reads हाङ्ग; L reads हादु, H lacks the line.

21 Cf. 'ङकारादेव चानन्त्यात् तपरे धपरे सति । ककारश्च गकारश्चेत्यागमः स्याद् यथाक्रमम् ।।' *Vyâsaúikṣâ* (Sastri, 1976, p. 134). Ex. *pâṅktâ %, yu Eddhvam* etc.

22 Cf. 'ङपूर्वः कः सषोर्ध्वश्चेट्टनपूर्वश्च तो भवेत्' — *Vyâúaúikṣâ* (Sastri, 1976, p. 62)

23 Following Whitney's terminology I translate *'nâsikya'* as 'nose-sound' in order to render it distinctly from the nasals *(uttamas* i.e. ṅ, ñ, ṇ, n and *m)* Whitney, 1868, p. 384

Comparative references to the *LS* and the *TP*

Verse No.	*LS* Expressions	Sūtra No.	*TP* Expressions	Context
1.	अच्पूर्व हलि हल् द्विरुक्तम्..	14.1	स्वरपूर्वं व्यञ्जनं द्विवर्णं व्यञ्जनपरम् ।	Duplication of a consonant which follows a vowel and precedes another consonant
1.	स्पर्शो लवोर्ध्वः स्वरात्	14.2	लवकारपूर्वः स्पर्शश्च पौष्करसादेः ।	Duplication of a stop after a vowel followed by *l* or *v*, the
1.	ऊर्ध्वाद् राद्धलि वाऽचि वा हल	14.4	रेफात् परं च ।	Duplication of a consonant while preceded by *r*
1.	अन्तग-न-ङौ ह्रस्वात् परावच्परौ	9. 18-19	ह्रस्वपूर्वो ङकारो द्विवर्णम् । नकारश्च ।	Duplication of final *n* and *ṅ* followed by vowel and preceded by short vowel
1.	पूर्वमागममितस्तुर्य-द्वितीयौ हलौ	14.5	द्वितीयचतुर्थयोस्तु व्यञ्जनोत्तरयोः पूर्वः	Increment of previous phones before the second and the fourth consonants
2.	भूते धाम च पाथ एष परमात्यात्यग्रगाः पूर्वगाः किं चोर्ध्वा उपसर्गतश्छखि-भुजाः	14.8	उपसर्गपाथ एषोऽत्यातिधाम-परमभूते पूर्वेषु छखिभुजेषु च ।	Increment of the previous phones before *ch, khi* and *bhuja* when preceded by the words *bhūte, dhāma, pātha, eṣa, parama, ati, āti* or a preposition.
2.	तन्मध्ये प्रथमागमश्च सदृशः स्पर्शेऽप्यधोषोष्मणा-मूर्ध्वे	14.9	अघोषादूष्मणः परः प्रथमोऽभिनिधानः स्पर्शपरात् तस्य सस्थानः ।	Increment of the first that belongs to the same series to which the subsequent stop belongs which in turn follows a voiceless fricative
3.	नोष्मा तु प्रथम-स्वरात् प्रथमतः ...	14. 16-17	ऊष्मा स्वरपरः । प्रथमपरश्च प्लाक्षिप्लाक्षायणयोः ।	Negating the duplication of fricatives which occur before the vowels or the firsts

Verse No.	*LS* Expressions	Sûtra No.	*TP* Expressions	Context
3.	अनुत्तम उत्तमे न न	14.24	नानुत्तम उत्तमपरः ।	Confirming the duplication of a *non-last* that precedes a last
3.	विसर्गो रः	14.15	अवसाने रविसर्जनीयजीह्वामूलीयो-पध्यमानीयाः	Negating the duplication of *ḥ* and *r*
3.	...ह-श-स्पर्शगः । लः...	14.26	लकारो हशवकारपरः ।	Negating the duplication of *l* which is followed *h*, *ś* or *v*.
3.	...मः पूर्वोऽप्यनुनासिकं च-य-व-ल-स्पर्शात् सवर्णं भजेत् ।	5. 27-29	मकारः स्पर्शपरस्तस्य सस्थानमनुनासिकम् । अन्तस्थापरश्च सवर्णमनुनासिकम् । न रेफपरः	Transformation of *m* into corresponding nasal when followed by *y*, *v*, *l* or a stop
4.	स्पर्शादनूष्मात्मनः । ऊर्ध्वस्थेष्वपि चोत्तमेषु च यमान् आहुस्तथाऽनुत्तमाद् ...	21. 12-13	स्पर्शादनुत्तमादुत्तम-परादानुपूर्व्यान्नासिक्या । तान् यमान् एके ।	Definition of twin-sounds
4.	...ङात् कः स्यात्...सषयोः..	5.32	ङपूर्वः ककारः सषकारपर ।	Increment of *k* after *ṅ* followed by *s* or *ṣ*
4.	... स्याट्ट-नतस्तु तश्च सषयोः..	5.33	टनकारपूर्वश्च तकारः ।	Increment of *t* after *ṭ* or *n* followed by *s* or *ṣ*
4.	...नासिक्यं नणमैर्युताद् ...हात् ...	21.14	हकारान्नणमपरान्नासिक्यम् ।	Definition of nose-sound

Śikṣā texts are the records of Indian knowledge on phonetics and phonology in which India showed extreme excellence. However, not much attention is paid towards these texts in recent times. Therefore, it is a primary duty of the Sanskritists to explore these texts bringing out critical editions along with translations. There is a big demand for the publications of *śikṣā* texts, particularly those of the *Taittirīya* school. The *śikṣā*s of the *Taittirīya* school contains comparatively more significant elements of phonetics than the *śikṣā*s of the other Vedic schools. A very few number of *śikṣā* texts have undergone proper editions. I identify the need for critical editions, translations and explications of *śikṣā* literature for facilitating further research. In this article a humble attempt has been made towards this direction.

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ON THE GEMS EMBEDDED IN KĀLIDĀSA'S POETRY[•]

Rani Majumdar[*]

1 Introduction

From time immemorial gems have played an important role in the economic and cultural life of India. The *Agni-sūkta*, the very first hymn of the *Ṛgveda* praises Agni as *ratnadhātana*, " best among those who bestow *ratnās.*[1] Similarly the Aśvins are also invoked to bring *ratnas*: *ā no ratnāni bibhratāśvinā gacchataṃ yuxvāṇ* [2] In these Vedic passages the term *ratna* denotes precious objects or wealth in general. But in classical Sanskrit *ratna* [3] like the English word ' gem' has a double connotation, meaning the precious stone as well as the foremost member in any group or class: *jātau jātau yad utkṛṣṭam lad ratnam iti abhidhīyate.*[4]

In his poetry Kālidāsa makes skillful use of his double meaning as is evident in the famous line that forms the title of this paper. Like the colours and scents of various kinds of flowers, the colours, shades and lustres of different gems appeal greatly to Kālidāsa and he employs these motifs in diverse figures of speech. His poetic use of gem motifs established certain patterns that were emulated by many later poets like Bhāravi, Māgha and Śrīharṣa. In addition, Kālidāsa's writings offer us glimpses of the gemmological knowledge available at his time which later on developed into a full-fledged *śāstra*. We shall briefly discuss these references frist before taking up the use of gems in the figures of speech.

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1. *Ṛgveda* : 1.1.1
2. *Ibid.* 5.75.3.
3. The word *maṇi* is used often as a synonym of *ratna*, but there are certain shades of difference in the meanings of the two words. *Ratna*, as has been mentioned above, means also the excellent member of any class, e.g. *strīratna* (AŚ 2.10) or *aśvaranta*, but *maṇi* does not have this meaning. On the other hand, while *ratna* denotes any precious stone, *maṇi* carries the meaning of some special gem or jewel with magical powers, such as the *Kaustubhamaṇi* worn by Viṣṇu on his chest. The *Saṅgamaṇīyamaṇi* in the *Vikramorvaśīya* seems to be purely an invention by Kālidāsa; cf. VU, act 4, esp. verse 36:

संगमणीयो मणिरिह शैलसुताचरणरागयोनिरयम् ।
आवहति धार्यमाणः संगममचिरात् प्रियजनेन ।।

4. Quoted by Mallinātha in his commentary on KS 1.2.

2. Kālidāsa and *Ratnaśāstra*

From ancient times kings amassed precious stones. In a chapter entitled *Kośapraveśyaratnaparīkṣā* of his *Arthaśāstra,*[5] Kauṭilya describes mining for gems and collecting them in the royal treasury as articles of wealth. Kings and other members of royal families adorned themselves with ornaments studded with gems. Kālidāsa, whose writing generally reflect the court culture of ancient India, is well versed with different varieties of gems, their shades of colours, places of occurrence and also with certain popular beliefs connected with gems.

Ratnaśāstra classifies gems into two categories: *mahāratnas* (precious stones) and *uparatnas* (semi-precious stones). The *mahāratnas* are five in number: *vajra* (diamond), *mauktika* (pearl), *padmarāga* (ruby), *nīla* (sapphire) and *marakata* (emerald). The *uparatnas* are four: *vidruma* (coral), *vaidūrya* (beryl), *sphaṭika* (rock crystal) and *puṣyarāga* (topaz). These nine varieties are known as *nava-ratnas* and are dedicated to the *nava-grahas* or nine planets.

Kālidāsa mentions all these nine varieties of *ratnās* and some more, but he does not seem to be aware of the concept of *nava-ratnas* and their planetary association or of the clasification into *mahāratnās* and *uparatnas.* His writings reflect a stage of gemmology which was gradually evolving at his time and which would develop in subsequent centuries into full fledged science of *Ratnaśāstra.* The earliest texts on *Ratnaparīkṣā* are four chapters of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* and *Buddhabhaṭṭa's Ratnaparīkṣā* [6] But the examination of gems for the desirable qualities *(guṇa)* and avoidable defects *(doṣa)* and the determination of their price seem to have been well established as a profession in Kālidāsa's time. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, when asked to adjudicate between the two dance teachers Hardatta and Gaṇadāsa, the *Parivrājikā* utters-sentence like: *pattaṇe sati grāme ratnaparīkṣā* [7] "when there is the city with all the experts, how can gem-testing be done in a village," meaning that there are greater experts in dance than her.

Kālidāsa mentions the shades of colours and other properties of different gems. In the case of diamond, the most important quality is its brilliance. In the *Raghuvaṁśa* kings from all the realms are assembled at Indumatī's *svayaṁvara.* When one of the kings passed his hand on his diamond-studded crown, the rays from the diamonds spread all around through the spaces between his fingers.[8]

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[5] *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra,* ed. by R. P. Kangle, Bombay. 1969, 2.1.28.

[6] Varāhamihira, *Bṛhatsaṃhitā,* chs. 78-81: Buddhabhatta's *Ratnaparīkṣā* was edited and translated into French by Louis Finot in his *Les lapidaires indiennes.* Paris, 1896, pp 1-58.

[7] MA, 238.

One of the desirable qualities of pearl is *nistala* or the perfectly round shape. In the *Kumārasambhava*, Pārvatī's pearl necklace is described as *nistala.*[9] Kauṭilya mentions *nistala* as one of the desirable qualities of the pearl[10] Kālidāsa is also aware of the fact that the estuary of the river Tāmraparṇī is an important source of pearls. During the course of Raghu's *digvijaya* as described in the *Raghuvaṃśa*, the Pāṇḍya king surrenders to Raghu his entire wealth of pearls obtained from the place where the Tāmraparṇī enters the ocean.[11] Indeed this region is the main source of pearls for India. In his commentary on this verse, Mallinātha correctly notes that *tāmraparṇīsaṁgame mauktikotpattir iti prasiddham*. Kālidāsa compares this surrender of pearl-wealth to the surrender of fame (*yaśas*), for in Sanskrit poetry, fame is regarded as white like the pearl. Through his surrender, the Pāṇḍya king lost both his fame and his pearls.

In *Meghadūta,* emeralds are described as having the shade of fresh leaves of bamboo,[12] a shade mentioned also in *Ratnaśāstra.*[13]

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8. RV 6.19:

कश्चिद्यथाभागमवस्थितेऽपि स्वसंनिवेशाद् व्यतिलङ्घनीया ।
वज्रांशुगर्भांगुलिरन्ध्रमेकं व्यापारयामास करं किरीटे ॥

Mallinātha offers an interesting interpretation of this verse: किरीटवन्मम शिरसि स्थितामपि त्वां भारं न मन्ये इति नृपाभिप्रायः । शिरसि न्यस्तहस्तोऽयमुपलक्षणः इतीन्दुमत्यभिप्रायः ॥

9. KS 1.42 (see footnote 26 below).

10. Kauṭilya *Arthaśāstra* 2.11.5:

स्थूलं वृत्तं निस्तलं भ्राजिष्णु श्वेतं गुरु स्निग्धं देशविद्धं च प्रशस्तम् ।

see also Buddhabhaṭṭa, *Ratnaparīkṣā,* 2.95 :

सितं वृत्तं गुरु स्निग्धं सुतारं निर्मलं तथा ।
षड्भिर्गुणैः संयुक्तं मौक्तिकं गुणवत् स्मृतम् ॥

11. RV 4.50.

ताम्रपर्णीसमेतस्य मुक्तासारं महोदधेः ।
ते निपत्य ददुः तस्मै यशः स्वमिव संचितम् ॥

12. MD 2.16:

..... मणिभिरनतिप्रौढवंशप्रकाशैः ।

13. cf. Varāhamihira, *Bṛhatsamhitā*, 82.1

शुकवंशपत्रकदलीशिरीषकुसुमप्रभवम् ।
सुरपितृकार्ये मरकतमतीव शुभदं नृणां विहितम् ॥

3. Kālidāsa and *Ratna-Saṁskāra*

Kālidāsa also provides the earliest literary evidence for the cutting and polishing of the gemstones to bring out their lustre. Kālidāsa calls this process *saṁskāra*. This term also denotes the ceremonies performed at different stages of life. In *Raghuvaṃśa,* there is a subtle play on these two meaning of *saṁskāra:* Dilīpa's son became more beautiful after the *Jātakarma saṁskāra* just as a gemstone taken out of the mine becomes brighter after cutting and polishing. [14] Cutting and polishing reduces the weight of the gem, but it improves the brilliance of the gem. This fact is used as a simile to suggest that the emaciated king Duṣyanta shines like a well-cut gem (*saṁskārollikhito mahāmaṇir iva kṣīnopi nālakṣyate*).[15]

In Duṣyanta's description of Śakuntalā in the well-known verse *anāghrātaṃ puṣpam* ....[16] there is a reference to drilling holes in gems (*anāviddhaṃ ratnam*) so that these can be strung into necklaces. More important than this is the allusion to a diamond-pointed drill. Diamond is the hardest of all gems;[17] it can cut other gems, but no other gem can cut diamond. At the beginning of the *Raghuvaṁśa,* Kālidāsa says modestly that he is venturing to describe the kings of Raghu's lineage only because the others have paved the way for him:

देवनागरी अथवा कृतवाग्द्वारे वंशेऽस्मिन्पूर्वसूरिभिः ।
मणौ वज्रसंमुत्कीर्णे सूत्रस्येवास्ति मे गतिः ।।[18]

Here Kālidāsa asserts that poets like Vālmīki have written about the royal race of Raghu and thus paved the way for him to write yet another poem on the same dynasty just as there is a passage (hole) for the thread in a gem that had been bored previously with a dimond drill. Mallinātha, while commenting on this verse, explains *vajra* as *maṇivedhaka-sūcīviśeṣa*, i.e...a special kind of drill for boring holes into gems, i.e. a diamond-pointed drill. Even today synthetically produced industrial diamonds are used for oil drilling and other heavy drilling purposes. Kālidāsa's verse provides us with the earliest reference to the use of diamond for drilling and is therefore very valuable for the history of technology.

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[14] RV 3.18:

स जातकर्मण्यखिले तपस्विना तपोवनादेत्य पुरोधसा कृते ।
दिलीपसूनुर्मणिराकरोद्भवः प्रयुक्तसंस्कार इवाधिकं बभौ ।।

[15] AŚ 6.6.

[16] AŚ 2.11.

[17] Cf. *Bhavabhūti, Uttararāmacarita* 2.7:

वज्रादपि कठोराणि मृदूनि कुसुमादपि ।
लोकोत्तराणां चेतांसि को नु विज्ञातुमर्हति ।।

See also AS 3.3, where the lovelorn Duṣyanta complains that even the flower arrows are made sharp like diamonds:

त्वमपि कुसुमबाणान् वज्रसारीकरोषि ।

[18] RV 1.4.

4. *Ratnas* embellish *Alaṁkāras*

Just as in real life gems are embedded in *alaṁkāras* (ornaments) to enhance their beauty, Kālidāsa employs diverse types of gems to lend charm to his *alaṁkāras* (figures of speech) like *Upamā, Utprekṣā* and *Arthāntaranyāsa.*

It is rarely that Kālidāsa mentions the gems directly. The few such cases occur when he describes celestial regions like Kailāśa or Alakā. The Yakṣa's palace garden in Alakā has a step-well (*vāpī*) with stairs made of emeralds. Golden lotuses grow there whose stalks are made of smooth beryl stones.[19] On its banks there is an artificial mountain whose peak is made up of lovely sapphires.[20] Even the pet peacock's perch (*vāsayaṣṭī*) is richly endowed with gold and gems. The golden perch is set up on a slab of rock crystal and the base is embedded with emeralds having the luster of fresh leaves of bamboo.[21]

Otherwise gems are generally mentioned for producing special effect in the figures of speech. Gems are used as *upamāna* to bring out vividly the colour, brilliance or other qualities of the object of discussion (*prastuta, upameya*).

In *Kumārasaṁbhava.* in a description of Pārvatī's budding youth, it is said that the newly sprouting line of hair on her lower abdomen (*navaromarājī*) looks as if it were the dark rays emanating from the sapphire (*sitetaramaṇī*) embedded in her girdle.[22] In spite of the fine sensibility for the different shades of colour displayed by Kālidāsa and other poets, they do often not make a clear distinction between blue and black colours.

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19. MD 2.16:

वापी चास्मिन् मरकतशिलाबद्धसोपानमार्गा
हेमैश्छन्ना विकचकमलैः स्निग्धवैदूर्यनालैः ।.....

20. MD 2.17:

तस्यास्तीरे रचितशिखरः पेशलैरिन्द्रनीलैःक्रीडाशैलः.।।

21. MD 2.19:

तन्मध्ये च स्फटिकफलका कांचनी वासयष्टि –
मूले बद्धा मणिभिरनतिप्रौढवंशप्रकाशैः ।.......

22. KS 1.38:

तस्याः प्रविष्टा नतनाभिरन्ध्रं रराज तन्वी नवलोमराजिः ।
नीविमतिक्रम्य सितेतरस्य तन्मेखलामध्यमणेरिवार्चि : ।।

In *Raghuvaṁśa*, there is a play upon the term *mahānīla*. Just as a sapphire is called *mahānīla* because of its brilliance (*prabhāva*) although it is small iṇ size, even so the term mahārāja is appropriate for the child king Sudarśana because of his majesty (*prabhāva*).[23] Elswhere a prince's radiance is compared to the topaz. It is said that with his radiance prince Puṣya surpassed the *puṣparāga*, the golden yellow topaz (*prabhānirjitapuṣparāga*)[24]

Of all the gems the pearl (*muktā, muktāphala, mauktika*) occupies the most prominent place in Kālidāsa's poetry.[25] No description of feminine beauty is complete without a mention of the pearl necklace (*hāra*) that adorns the lady's bosom.

In *Kumārasaṁbhava*, Pārvatī's pearl necklace naturally enhances the beauty of her neck, but at the same time the neck also makes the necklace more beautiful. Therefore, concludes Kālidāsa, both the neck and necklace are adornments and also the adorned, or that the state of being an adornment and the adorned became common to the neck and the necklace (*sādhārano bhūṣaṇa-bhūṣyabhāvaḥ*).[26]

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[23] RV 18.42:

मणौ महानील इति प्रभावादल्पप्रमाणेऽपि यथा न मिथ्या ।
शब्दो महाराज इति प्रतीतस्तथैव तस्मिन् युयुजेऽर्भकेऽपि ।।

In *Śiśupālavadha* 1.16, Māgha compares Kṛṣṇa's complexion to *Mahānīla*. While commenting on this verse, Mallinātha states that the sapphires from Simhala are known as *Mahānīla* and cites Agastya in support : सिंहलस्थाकरोद्भूता महानीलास्तु ते स्मृताः' इति भगवान् अगस्त्यः ।

[24] RV. 18.42 :

प्रभानिर्जितपुष्पराग पौष्यां तिथौ पुष्यमसूत पत्नी ।
तस्मिन्नपुष्यन्नुदिते समग्रां पुष्टिं जनाः पुष्य इव द्वितीये ।।

All the editions of the *Raghuvaṃśa* read here *puṣparāga*, but Louis Finot argues that the correct name of this gem is *puṣya-rāga* 'that which has the colour of turmeric' and that it got corrupted to *puṣpa-rāga* in popular usage. The reading *puṣya-rāga* fits well in Kālidāsa's verse where there is play on the words *puṣyarāga, pauṣyam, apuṣyan, puṣya*.

[25] Rani Majumdar, "Kālidāsa kī Kṛtiyon men Muktāphal" *Pañcāla*, vol. 12 1999, pp. 106-113; also see Rani Majumdar "Kādambarī men Mūktāphal" in: Radhavallabh Tripathi (ed.), *Vāṅmayī: Panorama of Indological Researches: Dr. Krishna Kant Chaturvedi Felicitation Volume,* Delhi, 1999, pp. 180-186; Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma, "Broken String - Scattered Pearls: A Motif in Sanskrit Poetry and Mathematics" In: Eugen Ciurtin (ed), *The Human Body, at the Crossroads of Multiple Indian Ways of Knowing: Papers presented to Arion Rosu by his Colleagues and Friends on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday,* Bucharest-Paris, 2004, pp.463-476.

[26] KS 1.42:

कण्ठस्य तस्याः स्तनबन्धुरस्य मुक्ताकलापस्य च निस्तलस्य ।
अन्योऽन्यशोभाजननाद् बभूव साधारणो भूषणभूष्यभावः ।।

Even when a lady is in distress and shedding tears, the poet imagines that the series of tears look like a pearl string. In the *Vikramorvaśīya*, the king observes that with her tears Urvaśī is creating another pearl string, as it were, when there is already one on her bosom (*ānayantī muktāvalīviracanāṃ punaruktim asraiḥ*).[27] In the *Raghuvaṁśa*, the wives of the defeated enemies are divested of all their jewellery, but their continuously flowing tears create the illusion of pearl necklaces without strings.[28]

Even the Lady Earth, conceived as a woman in poetry, wears a pearl necklace. In the *Raghuvaṁśa*. the river Mandākinī with its clear and placid waters appears to Rāma, who was travelling in the aerial chariot, like a slender pearl necklace around the Earth's neck.[29] Here the adjective *prasanna-stimita-pravāhā* "having a clear and placid stream" is meaningful. Only when the water is clear and not muddy, placid and not turbulent, the river would look like a pearl string when seen from the sky.

A variation on this theme is offered by the poet in the *Meghadūta*, where a Yakṣa sends a message to his beloved in the city of Alakā through the cloud. The Yakṣa tells the cloud messenger: "When you, who resemble Kṛṣṇa in complexion, bend down to drink water from the river, the celestial creatures will surely, turning their eyes, look at the current of that river which, though large, appears slender owing to the vast distance, as if it were a one-stringed pearl necklace of the Lady Earth, endowed with a large sapphire as its central gem."[30]

Kālidāsa seems to be particularly fond of pearl necklaces with sapphire in the middle. When describing the ladies of the harem, accompanied by the king Kālidāsa mentions the parallel of the pearl necklace with a sapphire in the middle, through a charming

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[27] VU 5.15:

किं सुन्दरि ! प्ररुदितासि ममोपनीते, वंशस्थितेरधिगमान् महति प्रमोदे ।
पीनस्तनोपरिनिपातिभिरानयन्ति, मुक्तावलीविरचनां पुनरूक्तिमस्रैः ।।

[28] RV 6.28:

अनेन पर्यासयताश्रुबिन्दून् मुक्ताफलस्थूलतमान् स्तनेषु ।
प्रत्यर्पिताः शत्रुविलासिनीनामुन्मुच्य सूत्रेण विनैव हाराः ।।

[29] RV 13.48:

एषा प्रसन्नस्तिमितप्रवाहा सरिद् विदूरान्तरभावतन्वी,
मन्दाकिनी भाति नगोपकण्ठे मुक्तावली कण्ठगतेव भूमेः ।।

[30] MD 1.50:

त्वय्यादातुं जलमवनते शाङ्गिणो वर्णचौरे. तस्याः सिन्धोः पृथुमपि तनुं दुरभावात् प्रवाहम् ।
प्रेक्षिष्यन्ते गगनगतयो नूनमावर्ज्य दृष्टिरेकं मुक्तागुणमिव भुवः स्थूलमध्येन्द्रनीलम् ।।

arthāntaranyāsa.[31] The pearls by themselves are already pleasing to the eyes. What to say of their beauty when there is a brilliant sapphire in the middle, thus implying that the beautiful ladies of the harem looked still more beautiful with the radiant king in their midst. Though pearls by themselves are pretty in a necklace, Kālidāsa thinks a necklace interspersed with pearls and sapphires is prettiest still.

5. *Ratnas* and *Kavi-Samayas*

In his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, Rājaśekhara defines *kavi-samaya* as *aśāstrīyam alaukikaṁ ca paramparāgataṁ yaṁ arthaṁ upanibadhnanti kavayaḥ sa kavisamayaḥ* i.e. matters which are neither mentioned in the *śāstra* nor to be seen in the real world but which have description in poetry, they become poetic facts. Wilhelm Rau who compiled a list of the *kavi-samayas* and their occurrences in major *kāvyas* suggests many of the *kavi-samayas* were introduced for the first time by Kālidāsa.[32]

Kālidāsa gave poetic currency to certain popular beliefs about gems. Later on these beliefs were incorporated also into the texts on *Ratnaśāstra.* Poets who came after Kālidāsa, especially the celebrated poets like Bhāravi, Māgha and Śrīharṣa imitated these tropes of Kālidāsa so avidly that these became established as standard poetic conceits *(kavi-samaya)* in Saṅskrit poetic practice.

5.1 Pearls form under Svātī *Nakṣatra*

There is a belief that when the moon is in the Svātī *nakṣatra,* water drops falling into pearl oysters (*śukti*) develop into pearls.[33] Kālidāsa makes a charming use of this belief in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Gaṇadāsa, the dance master, says modestly that his teaching became all the more effective because of the excellence of the pupil Mālavikā, just as the ordinary water drops from the clouds falling into the oysters are transformed into lustrous pearls. Therefore what is important is the receiver (*pātraviśeṣa*).[34]

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[31] RV 16.70:

ततो नृपेणानुगताः स्त्रियस्ता भ्राजिष्णुना सातिशयं विरेजुः ।
प्रागेव मुक्ता नयनाभिरामाः प्राप्येन्द्रनीलं किमुतोन्मयूखम् ।।

[32] Wilhelm Rau, "Poetical Conventions in Indian *Kāvya* Literature," *Adyar Library Bulletin,* vol. 50. 1986, pp. 191-197, see esp. p. 197: "The references collected above suggest that especially Kālidāsa was fond of such fancies and left this predilection as a bequest to his imitators."

[33] Śreeramula Rajeswara Sarma, *Ṭhakkura Pherū's Rayaṇaparikkhā: A Medieval Prakrit Text on Gemmology,* Aligarh, 1984, verse 50:

सव्वेसु आगरेसु य सिप्पौडे सैरिक्ख जललोए ।
जायन्ति मुत्तियाइं सव्वालंकारजणयायिम् ।।

In The poet's imagination, the sea shore is filled with pearls. On his return journey from Laṅkā, Rāma finds that the sands on the shore of the southern sea are full of pearls which issued from broken oyster shells.[35]

5.2 Elephant Pearls

It is a popular belief that there grow pearl-like formations in the foreheads of certain elephants and that these elephant pearls, called *Gajamauktika* in Sanskrit, or *Gajmāṇika* in Hindi, bring great fortune to the owner. A large pearl from the forehead of a deceased royal elephant is said to be in a museum in Kathmandu in Nepal.[36] Kālidāsa imagines that the *kuṃbhasthala* of every elephant is full of pearls and that these spill out when the elephants are killed by lions as prey or by warriors in battle.

In the description of the Himalayas, with which the *Kumārasambhava* commences we come across a charming account of these *gajamauktikas*. In the Himālayas, when the lions attack the elephants and tear apart their forehead, the pearls inside the foreheads get stuck to the claws of the lions. Later when the lions walk on the snow, these pearls stick to the snow along with the lions' footprints. When the snow melts, the blood is washed away from the footprints but the pearls still remain there, pointing to the way by which the lions have gone. Hunters searching for lions can locate their way with the help of these pearls.[37]

The motif of elephant pearls sticking to the claws of lions, when they kill the elephants, occurs again in the *Raghuvaṁśa*. While hunting, King Daśaratha killed many lions, to whose crooked claws pearls got stuck when these lions had previously killed elephants (*kuṭilanakhāgralagnamuktān*). Kālidāsa imagines that the king, by killing the lions considered himself as if he had paid off with his arrows the debt of elephant who assisted him on the battlefield.[38]

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[34] MA 1.6:

पात्रविशेषे न्यस्तं गुणान्तरं व्रजति शिल्पमधातुः ।
जलमिव समुद्रशुक्तौ मुक्ताफलतां पयोदस्य ॥

[35] RV 13.17:

एते वयं सैकतभिन्नशुक्तिपर्यस्तमुक्तापटलं पयोधेः ।
प्राप्ता मुहूर्तेन विमानवेगात् कूलं फलावर्जितपूगमालम् ॥

[36] Sreeramula Ṛajeswara Sarma, "Gajamauktika: Poetic Convention and Reality," *Bulletin d'Etudes Indiennes*, vol. 9, 1997, pp. 195-202.

[37] KS 1.6:

पदं तुषारस्रुतिधौतरक्तं यस्मिन्नदृष्ट्वापि इतद्विपानाम् ।
विदन्ति मार्गं नखरन्ध्रमुक्तैर्मुक्ताफलैः केसरिणां किराताः ॥

A variation of the motif of the elephant pearls can be seen in the *Kumārasambhava* in the description of a battle where several elephants were killed by the warriors and the pearls from their foreheds are spilled on the gound. These pearls, says Kālidāsa, appear as though somebody has sown the seeds of fame which began to sprout in the shape of these pearls.[39]

Kālidāsa was the first to introduce the motif of the elephant pearls in Sanskrit poetry. Subsequent poets took up this motif enthusiastically and elaborated upon it, so much so that it became a convention (*kavisamaya*) to describe the elephant pearls whenever there is a description of a forest (lions killing elephants and scattering the elephant pearls) or a battle (warriors killing the enemy elephant and spilling the pearls from their *kumbhasthalas*).

5.3 *Sarpa-maṇi*

It is generally believed that certain great serpents like Vāsuki, have radiant jewels on their hoods, which are called *sarpamaṇis*.[40] It is frequently mentioned in Kālidāsa's writings.[41]

In the thirteenth canto of *Raghuvaṁśa*. while coming back from Lankā by *Puṣpaka vimāna*. Rāma shows Sītā the serpents who had come out of the sea to breathe the breeze of the shore. Those mighty serpents resemble big waves of the sea, but could only be distinguished by the jewels on their hood, as they were shining brightly when the sun's rays fell on them.[42] Elsewhere in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, it is said that the enemies could not deprive King Atithi of the three constituents of his regal power (*śaktitraya, namely prabhutva-śakti, mantra-śakti utsāha-śakti*) just as one cannot remove the jewels from the hoods of serpents.[43]

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[38] RV 9.65:

तान् हत्वा गजकुलबद्धतीव्रवैरान्, काकुत्स्थः कुटिलनखाग्रलग्नमुक्तान् ।
आत्मानं रणकृतकर्मणां गजानां, आनृण्यं गतमिव मार्गणैरमंस्त ।।

[39] KS 16.22:

शस्त्रभिन्नेभकुम्भेभ्यो मौक्तिकानि च्युतान्यधः ।
आहवक्षेङ्कुप्तकीर्तिबीजोत्करश्रियम् ।।

[40] See Peter Gaeffke, "The Snake Jewel in Indian Literature," *Indian Linguistics*, vol. 14, 1954, pp. 581-594, for a detailed discussion on this gem.

[41] KS 5.43; 7.34; RV 10.7; 11.59, 68; 13.12; 17.63. In RS 1.20 even common snakes are said to possess gems on their hoods.

[42] RV 13.12:

वेलानिलायप्रसृता भुजंगा महोर्मिविस्फूर्जथुनिर्विशेषाः ।।
सूर्यांशुसम्पर्कसमृद्धरागैर्व्यज्यन्त एते मणिभिः फणस्थैः ।।

When Daśaratha faced the terrible Paraśurāma, the conflict of emotions that arose in him is described very vividly. For Daśaratha, the name Rāma, which belongs to his own dear son as well as to the terrible enemy in front of him, became the cause for pleasure as well as fear, just as the gem (i.e. *pearl*) in a necklace is a source of pleasure, but the same on the hood of a serpent is a source of fear.[44]

To these elephant pearls and snake gems, the authors of *Ratnaśāstra* add some more imaginary or real organic substances and classify them together with the real oyster pearls (*śuktija*) as eight types of pearls.[45]

5.4 *Sūryakānta* and *Candrakānta*

The *sūryakānta,* the gem "dear to the sun", is said to emit fire when it comes into contact with the rays of the Sun. In *Abhijñānaśākuntala,* the king cites the example of the *sūryakānta-maṇi* while explaining the innate power of the sages. The sages, abstaining from all the worldly pleasures, are outwardly calm. But they have a latent power to burn down those who insult them just as the *sūryakānta* has the potential to burn when touched by Sun's rays.[46] Here it is imagined that the *sūryakānta* is offended by the touch of the Sun's rays and therefore produce fire.

A little more factual information is available from another occurrence of the *sūryakānta* in the *Raghuvaṁśa.* When Rāma killed the demoness Tāḍakā in the forest, he received from the sage a magical weapon which is capable of destroying *rākṣasas.* Kālidāsa compares this act to the *sūryakānta* receiving light from Sun which is capable of burning timber (*jyotir indhananipāti bhāskarāt sūryakānta iva*).[47] That is to say, the Sun's rays passing through a lens converge at a point where they can burn timber. This is clearly the magnifying glass with which we have all tried to burn paper when we were childern. On the basis of this and a host of similar occurrences, Wilhelm Rau concluded that the *sūryakāntamaṇi* refers to a burning lens made of rock crystal *(sphaṭika)*.[48] In ancient times, fire was produced for sacrifices by means of fire-sticks *(araṇi)* or with iron and flint stone *(loha-pāṣāna)* or with the *sūryakānta*.[49] Its ability to produce fire was recognized and made use of long ago, but its magnifying property was not discovered until much later.

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[43] RV 17.63:

सर्पस्येव शिरोरत्नं नास्य शक्तित्रयं परः ।
स चकर्ष परस्मात्तदयस्कान्त इवायसम् ।।

cf. also KS 2.38:

[44] RV 11.68:

[45] Buddhabhaṭṭa, *Ratnaparīkṣā* 2.52:

Varāhamihira, *Bṛhatsamhitā 80.1:*

For an interpretation of these "eight sources of pearls," see S. R. Sarma, *Thakkura Pherū's Rayaṇaparikkhā,* op. cit., pp. 54-56.

[46] AŚ 2.7:

[47] RV 11.21:

Similarly the counterpart of the *sūryakānta*, the *candrakānta* the gem "dear to the moon", is believed to display its agreeable nature by exuding cool soothing liquied (water) at the touch of the moon's rays. In the description of Alakāpuri in the *Meghadūta*, Kālidāsa speaks of *candrakāntas* with their drops of water removing the tiredness of ladies.[50] In the *Kumārasaṃbhava*, there is an amusing description of the Himālayas where at night, the *candrakāntas* produce streams of cool water and these streams fall on the trees below and wake up the peacock sleeping on the tree branches much before it is time for them to wake up.[51] In the *Vikramorvaśīya*, the king compares the pleasurable feeling produced on his body by the touch of his son to the soothing effect produced on the *candrakānta* by the Moon's rays.[52]

As mentioned above, the *sūryakānta* is identified with the burning lens. About the *candrakānta*, S. R. Sarma observes as follows: "...no stone is known to ooze water under moonlight. It looks as though *candrakānta* is a fiction invented as a companion piece to

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[48] Wilhelm Rau, *Die Brennlinse im alten Indien*, Wiesbaden 1983; idem, "More Information on the Burning Lenses in Ancient India," *Aligarh Journal of Oriental Studies*, vol. 2, 1985, 169-174.

[49] Cf. *Jayākhyasaṃhitā* 59:

cited by Wilhelm Rau, *Die Brennlinse im alten Indien*, op.cit., p. 6.

[50] MD 2.7:

यत्र स्त्रीणां प्रियतमभुजालिङ्गनोच्छ्वासितानाम्,
अङ्गग्लानिं सुरतजनितां तन्तुजालावलम्बाः ।
त्वत्संरोधापगमविशदैश्चन्द्रपादैर्निशीथे
व्यालुम्पन्ति स्फुटजललवस्यन्दिनश्चन्द्रकान्ताः ।।

[51] KS 8.67:

चन्द्रपादजनितप्रवृत्तिभिश्चन्द्रकान्तजलबिन्दुभिर्गिरिः ।
मेखलातरूषु निद्रितान् बोधयत्यसमये शिखण्डिनः ।।

[52] VU 5.11:

सर्वांगिणः स्पर्शः सुतस्य किल तेन मामुपगतेन ।
आह्लादयस्व तावच्चन्द्रकरश्चन्द्रकान्तमिव ।।

sūryakānta. On the other hand, Sanskrit literature is replete with *candrakānta* slabs on which lovers in separation seek solace and coolness. Can *candrakānta*, therefore, be an old name for marble and the oozing of water at the touch of the moon's rays a bit of poetic hyperbole?'' [53]

In any case, Kālidāsa was the first poet to employ the gems *sūryakānta* and *candrakānta* in a meaningful way in poetry and the subsequent poets frequenty emulated him in his respect. For example, in the description of the Raivata mountain, Māgha creates an interesting image of the effects of both the stones: The slopes of the mountain look as if they were performing a severe penance: at night they take frequent baths in the waters oozing out of the *candrakānta* stones; in the day time they endure the fires emerging from the *sūryakānta* stones.[54] In *Ratnaśāstra* these two stones are considered to be varieties of *sphaṭika* (rock crystal).[55]

5.5 *Ayaskānta*

A third parallel to *sūryakānta* and *candrakānta* is the *ayaskānta*, the magnet or load stone. Although it is not a precious or semi-precious stone, it is called *ayaskānta-maṇi* because of its property of attracting iron. Kālidāsa makes poetic use of this property. In the *Kumārasaṃbhava*, the gods are instructed to strive to attract the mind of Śiva, which is tranquil due to austerities (*saṃyamastimita*), through Umā just as a piece of iron is attracted by a magnet (*ayaskāntena lohavat*).[56] In *Raghuvaṁśa*, it is said of king Atithi that he drew to himself the regal power of the enemy kings just as the magnet would draw to itself the pieces the iron (*ayaskānta ivāyasam*).[57]

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53. S. R. Sarma, *Ṭhakkura Pherū's Rayaṇṇaparikkā*, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

54. *Śiśupālavadha* 4.58:

सायं शशांककिरणाहत चन्द्रकान्तनिष्यन्दि नीरनिकरेण कृताभिषेकाः ।
अर्कोपलोल्लसितवह्निभिरह्निदप्तास्तीव्रं महाव्रतमिवात्र चरन्ति वप्राः ।।

See also ibid.. 4.16 *(sūryakānta)*; 9.35 *(candrakānta)*.

55. *Thakkura Pheru's Rayanaparikkhā* (ed & tr.) S.R. Sarma,op,cit,verse 96:

रविकन्ताओ अग्गी ससिकन्ताओ-झरेइ अमियजलम् ।
रविकन्तचन्दकन्ते दिन्नि वि फलिहाउ जायन्ति ।।

56. KS 2.59:

उमारूपेण ये यूयं संयमस्तिमितं मनः ।
शम्भोर्यतध्वमाक्रष्टुमयस्कान्तेन लोहवत् ।।

57. RV 17.63 (see footnote 43 above).

5.6 *Vaidūrya*

In the *Kumārasambhava*, when Pārvatī was born, Kālidāsa says that "with the birth of that daughter (Pārvatī), Menā looked more beautiful, just as the *Vidūra* region shines brightly, when at the first sound of thunder, slender columns of beryl sprout from the earth" (*vidūrabhūmir navameghaśabdād udbhinnayā ratnaśalākayeva*).[58] Kālidāsa does not mention the name of the gem; he merely says *ratna-śalākā*. But because these *ratna-śalākās* sprout in the region of *Vidūra*, it is clear that what is meant is the *vaidūrya* (beryl). [59] Here Kālidāsa perpetuates the popular notions that *vaidūryas* grow in a region called *Vidūra* and that at the first sound of thunder, they sprout from the earth. there is no geological basis for this belief. It is difficult to say how this belief arose. Probably, the green blades of grass sprouting after the first rains gave rise to this belief of pale green columns of *vaidūrya* sprouting out of the earth. Kālidāsa's poetic conceit appeatled to the other poets so much that they too employed this notion in their poems.[60]

6. *Ratnas* and *Parabhāga*

One of the favourite motifs of Kālidāsa is the juxtaposition of two contrasting colours. In a justly famous verse in the *Kumārasaṁbhava*, Kālidāsa seems unable to provide a concrete *upamāna* to describe the enchanting beauty of the smile pervading on the lips of Pārvatī. There is nothing in the real world to compare the beauty of her smile. So he resorts to an imaginary juxtaposition. Supposing one arranges a white flower next to the fresh reddish leaves of spring (*puṣpaṃ pravālopahitaṃ yadi syāt*) or supposing one sets up a pearl upon a clear translucent coral (*muktāphalaṁ vāsphuṭavidrumasthaṁ*), then and only then such a combination may perhaps come close to the radiant beauty of the smile on her copper-red lips (*tāmroṣṭhaparyasta-ruciḥ smitasya*).[61] It is of course a poetic convention to describe the smile as white.

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[58] तया दुहित्रा सुतरां सवित्री स्फुरत्प्रभामण्डलया चकासे ।
विदूरभूमिर्नवमेघशब्दादुद्भिन्नया रत्नशलाकयेव ।।

[59] On the question whether *vaidūrya* is beryl or cat's-eye, see S. R. Sarma, *Thakkura Pherū's Rayaṇaparrikkhā*, op. cit., pp.67-68

[60] For example, Māgha, *Śiśupālavadha* 13.58; Bilhaṇa, *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* 8.25.

[61] KS 1.44:

पुष्पं प्रवालोपहितं यदि स्यान्मुक्ताफलं वा स्फुटविद्रुमस्थम् ।
ततोऽनुकुर्याद् विशदस्य तस्यास्ताम्रोष्ठपर्यस्तरुचिः स्मितस्य ।।

Kālidāsa has a special term for this kind of juxtaposition: *parabhāga*. Dictionaries explain this word as *guṇotkarṣa* [62] or *varṇotkarṣa* [63] etc., but in Kālidāsa's usage the *guṇotkarṣa* or more particularly the *varṇotkarṣa* is caussed by the juxtaposition of two contrasting colours. Mallinātha brings out this shade of meaning very clearly when he explains *parabhāga* as *vijātīyavarṇasaṃnidhānāl labdhavarṇotkarṣah.*[64]

Kālidāsa expressly uses the term *prabhāga* in *Raghuvaṁśa* 5.70. This verse constitutes, as it were, a mirror image of the previous verse from the *Kumārasambhava*. Here the bright smile on the red lips becomes the *upamāna* for the dew drops resting on the red leaves in the early morning. Interestingly the lips and smile do not belong to a woman, but to a man, namely prince Aja, whom his entourage is a awakening one morning. The attendants tell the prince that he should wake up because it is now the morning and the dew drops, resembling well polished pearls, which have fallen upon the red leaves are shining, beacuse of this contrast *(labdhaparabhāgatayā)*, like the lovely smile upon his lips.[65]

Kālidāsa uses the term *parabhāga* once more in the *Kumārasambhava* where the fresh shoots of barley grass worn as ear ornament are described. Kālidāsa adds that this ear ornament was attractive particularly because of the colour contrast (*parabhāgalābhāt*) against the lady's cheek that was painted with *gorocamā.*[66]

The *parabhāga* motif pervades Kālidāsa's poetry, even though the term is not mentioned expressly. [67] The thirteenth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa* describes the journey of Rāma and Sītā from Laṅkā to Ayodhyā by the *Puṣpakavimāna*. From the aerial chariot, Rāma points to places below through which they had passed together or which are especially attractive.

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62. Mallinātha on RV 5.70: 'परभागो गुणोत्कर्षे' इति यादवः । Cāritravardhana on KS 7.17: परभागो गुणोत्कर्षे' इत्यभिधानचिन्तामणिः ।

63. Mallinātha on KS 7.17:

परभागलाभाद् वर्णोत्कर्षप्राप्ति : ।

64. Mallinātha on KS 7. 17.

65. RV 5.70:

ताम्रोदरेषु पतितं तरुपल्लवेषु निर्धौतहारगुलिकाविशदं हिमाम्भः ।
आभाति लब्धपरभागतयाधरोष्ठे लीलास्मितं सदशनार्चिरिव त्वदीयम् ।।

66. KS 7.17:

कर्णार्पितो लोध्रकषायरूक्षे गोरोचनाक्षेपनितान्तगौरे ।
तस्याः कपोले परभागलाभाद् बबन्ध चक्षूंषि यवप्ररोहः ।।

67. Poets like Bhāravi and Māgha enthusiastically employ this motif in their *kāvyas*. of. *Kirātārjunīya* 5.30; 8.42; *Śiśupālavadha* 7.33; 8.51; 10.86.

In this context, there is a fine description of the Banyan tree near Prayāga, which was then ladden with fruits. The contrast between the dark green leaves and the red berries of the Banyan tree is so pleasing that Kālidāsa emphasizes the colour contrast by comparing the dark green leaves and the red berries with a heap of emeralds mixed with red rubies.[68]

Kālidāsa's fondness for *parabhāga* reaches its climax when he describes the confluence at Prayāga of the bluish waters of river Yamunā with the clear transparent or white waters of Gaṅgā at Prayāga. The dramatic contrast in colour is expressed through a cascade of similes.[69] Here Kālidāsa uses as many as seven similes. Relevant for us is the comparison with a necklace where white pearls and blue sapphires are intermixed (*kvacit prabhālepibhir indranīlair muktāmayī yaṣṭir ivānuviddhā*). However, it must be noted that the Gaṅgā-Yamunā confluence does not produce a uniform combination of the two colours throughout. Because the waters are constantly flowing and are not stationary, each small area produces a different image. This is brought out beautifully by the repeated use of *kvacit*. At some places, the confluence is comparable to a string of pearls and sapphires, elsewhere it resemble a garland of white and blue lotuses, at another place it looks like a pattern painted with sandal paste and black *agaru* on the body of the Lady Earth, and yet at another place the *Saṅgama* recalls to mind Śiva's body that is smeared with white ash and adorned with black snakes. The last of these similes where black snakes constantly slide over the ash-smeared body brings out the constant movement in the steady flow of Gangā which is broken by the rushing waters of Yamunā (*vibhāti gaṅgā bhinnapravāhā yamunātaraṅgaiḥ*). It also emphasizes the sacredness of both the *upamāna* and *upameya*.

7. *na ratnam anviṣyati*

The *Kumārasaṁbhava* opens with a grand description of the Himālaya, its chief characteristic being *anantaratnaprabhavasya* "the source of infinite varieties of *ratnas*." which include real precious stones as well as other kind of precious objects and beings. At another level, the divine Himālaya is also the source of the *strīratna*, Pārvatī.

Pārvatī sets out to win over Śiva as her husband through an austere penance. The first step in the penance is to divest herself of all artificial ornaments and replace them with those derived from nature. She discards all her ornaments of jewels and gold and wears instead flowers of varied hues provided by the bounteous spring. Kālidāsa adds that these floral ornaments far surpass the beauty of the ornament of gold and gems: the red *aśoka* flowers cast the ruby into shade, the *karṇikāra* flowers supersede the glitter of the gold ornaments and the garland of white *sinduvāra* flowers is a better substitute for the pearl necklace.[70] Here we can perceive where Kālidāsa's true heart lies - not in royal palaces with ornaments of gold and gems, but, in sylvan surroundings with floral ornaments.

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[68] RV 13.53:

त्वया पुरस्तादुपयाचितो यः सोऽयं वटः श्याम इति प्रतीतः ।
राशिर्मणीनामिव गारुडानां सपद्मरागः फलितो विभाति ।।

[69] RV 13.54-57.

As Pārvatī performs the severe penance, Śiva himself appears before her in the guise of a *Vaṭu.* There ensues a dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī and her maids. This is one of the most engaging dialogues in Kālidāsa's writings, full of wit, teasing and *dhvani.* Here Kālidāsa creates in his inimitable manner two *arthāntaranyāsas* related to *ratnas.* The *Vaṭu* wonders why Pārvatī should perform a penance. Being the daughter of the mighty Himālaya, she lacks nothing. She has such an engaging personality that nobody would dare insult her. After all who would stretch one's hand towards the gem on the serpent's hood?[71] If you are seeking heaven, there is no need of penance, for your father dwells in celestial regions. And if you are looking for a husband, there is no need of penance either. *Na ratnam anviṣystī mṛgyate hi tat:* a gem never seeks; it is always sought.[72] At a different level, the sentence also means: you are a *strīratna.* You do not have to go in search of a husband; he will come to you himself. It is a dramatic irony that Pārvatī and her maids do not yet know, but the husband is already there in front of her, though in disguise. Here the question who is the seeker and who is been sought, loses its meaning for both are the seekers and the sought. That is why the two dwell in one body, inseparable like the word and its meaning, or in the immortal words of the Poet, *vāgarthāviva saṃpṛktau.*[73]

It is but appropriate to conclude this paper with the full verse of Kālidāsa and join him in his salutation to Pārvatī and Parameśvara, for we too need their grace to be able to speak and write meaningfully:

वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमश्वरौ ॥

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70. KS 3.53:

अशोकनिर्भत्सितपद्मरागं आकृष्टहेमद्युतिकर्णिकारम् ।
मुक्ताकलापीकृतसिन्दुवारं वसन्तपुष्पाभरणं वहन्ती ॥

71. KS 5.43:

अलभ्यशोकाभिभवेयमाकृतिर्विमानना सुभ्रु कृतः पितुर्गृहे ।
पराभिमर्शो न तवास्ति कः करं प्रसारयेत्पन्नगरत्नसूचये ॥

72. KS 5.45:

दिवं यदि प्रार्थयसे वृथा श्रमः पितुः प्रदेशास्तव देवभूमयः ।
अथोपयन्तारमलं समाधिना न रत्नमन्विष्यति मृग्यते हि तत् ॥

73. RV 1.1

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PANDIT HRISHIKESH BHATTACHARYA: FATHER OF SANSKRIT ESSAY

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Though rich in burly prose writings, euphemistically called *Kathā* and *Ākhyāyikā,* the early literature in Sanskrit is hopelessly poor in the most enjoyable of the literary forms, the essay. Not unlike the vernaculars, Sanskrit is deeply indebted for it to the alien languages, particularly English, which had developed essay as an independent discipline quite early. The Sanskrit essay has undergone many a vicissitude to attain a genius of its own, though it has yet to blossom to its full potential, several feathers in its cap notwithstanding. Doubtless a galaxy of brilliant writers strove hard to impart the Sanskrit essay a distinct character and dimension, but the credit for introducing this wholesome genre to the realm of Sanskrit literature must rest with Pandit Hrishikesh Bhattacharya who, as the editor of the popular journal *Vidyodaya*, published by the University of Punjab, Lahore, paved the way for it to assert itself in the productive domain of Sanskrit through the corpus of his essays, contributed to the said journal for well over forty years that combine to form an independent literature by themselves, meriting an in-depth appraisal. Unhappily the mass of his writings has slipped into oblivion, but the seed that he had planted with great perseverance, has happily flowered into a full-fledged discipline, with the Sanskrit essayists now coming to grips with all conceivable issues under the sun, which hardly any writer of note could have ventured to deal with earlier.

Serious efforts were made to salvage the corpus of Bhattacharya's essays soon after his death, but it was too prohibitive a task to be undertaken by an individual. However, with his irrepressible zeal to apprise the posterity of the majesty of his delightful prose, Padmasingh Sharma made bold to publish a collection of Bhattacharya's essays under the title *Prabandhamañjarī* (PM)[1]. The PM consists of eleven *prabandhas* (essays) of uneven girth and worth. Of these *Puṁsām avimṛśyakaritā* and *Saṁskṛtabhāṣāyā Vaiśiṣṭyam* are tiny pieces, while *Yamarājavicāraprahasanam, Vaitaraṇitīram* and *Yamaṁ prati Sambhāṣaṇam* purport to

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[1] Kavyakutira, Nayak Nagla, P.O. Chandpur, Dt. Bijnor (UP), V.S. 1986 (=1929 A.D.)

be abstracts of their full fledged versions. The essays included in the PM though not large in number bear eloquent testimony to the author's multi-dimensional equipment and expertise in ornate prose with the trappings that ensure its undying glory. Though it would be hazardous to seek to evaluate any author on the basis of a fraction of his writings, but there is no other option left in the situation. To be sure, the majority of the essays included in the PM command a wide spectrum. With racy phraseology and literary trappings *Mahāraṇyaparyavekṣaṇam* (MP) is as good as a full fledged *gadya-kāvya.*

A number of essays in the PM deal with social issues, though they differ in their genius and ramifications. The issue dealt with in *Vibudhāmantraṇam* (VA) may appear to be outdated now, but must have been relevant in the author's time. Drawing a black and white picture of the society's commitment to eternal *dharma* and code of conduct of the ancient *Varṇas* and *Āśramas* in olden days and their blatant violation now, it calls upon the *dvijas,* the repository of knowledge and culture, to arrest the rot, because they alone have the credentials to impart sense to the festering society. The apparently insipid subject has been set forth in such lucid and racy terms that one hardly feels that he is face to face with a troubling social issue. How the social order has turned topsy-turvy is well brought out in the essay: सम्प्रति हि भारतेऽस्मिन् व्यसनसम्पर्कात् सद्विद्येव, अनीतिसंसर्गाद्राज्यलक्ष्मीरिव, शाठ्ययोगाच्चिरमैत्रीव--सुमृशं क्षीणत्वमुपगता वेदविद्या, सम्यक् क्षीणश्च तन्मूलकः सनातनो वर्णाश्रमधर्मः । P.26

The clarion call to the Brāhmaṇas to meet the challenge with determination is enlivened by perceptible self-dignity: अत एव भवन्तो विसृज्याकिञ्चित्करधनार्जनतृष्णां ... प्रचारयन्तु संस्कृतविद्यां प्रकाशयन्तु शास्त्ररहस्यानि ... त्यजन्तु विषयपिपासां प्रतिपालयन्तु यमनियमादीन् । p. 37

Yamaṁ prati sambhāṣaṇam is perhaps the most touching piece in the PM. It voices the deep anguish of the author's heart with utmost intensity. Several deaths in the family in a row, had so shattered him that Yama appeared to him to be his best friend and his abode, a unique resort of eternal peace that is why none returns there from once he is lodged in it.

Vaitaraṇītīraprahasanam, an appendix to it, pours scorn on those who indulge in sinful activities to no end. They, it is averred in a higher vein, are ferried across the Vaitaraṇī in iron ships so that it is not defiled by the touch of their sins. Though brief, it represents the lighter face of the Sanskrit essay.

Caṇḍīdāsasya tends to be biographic in tenor. It seeks to describe in brief the life-account of Caṇḍīdāsa, the famous Vaiṣṇavite poet of Bengal, though from the way it has been described in the essay, only broad outlines of his *carita* come into view. It is more focused on the juicy details of his love affairs. Despite stiff opposition from the family, the poet continued to enjoy the bliss of the washer women's company.

More than Caṇḍīdāsa's life account, i t is the poetic virtues of the essay that engage attention. The profundity of the author's prose and his poetic prowess manifest themselves with exuberance in the narrow frame of the essay. It is the only essay in the PM that has the (dubious) distinction of spinning out a sesquipedalian compound, that, fostered by a host of gimmicks, spills over two and a half printed pages. It doubtless strains the reader's patience, but unravels the author's sound equipment in grammar, lexicon and poetics. *Caṇḍīdāsasya* is essentially a pile of diverse descriptions. These may not be in tune with the genius and size of the essayist's descriptive spills and expertise is working up appropriate phraseology to accord with the genius of the subject. The pen-pictures drawn in the essay lend it variety and heighten its poetic appeal. Chaitanya's verbal profile merits esteem, though the pen-picture of the *Nagaradevatā* is equally engaging. The lucidity and swift flow of prose combine to make the account of Caṇḍīdāsa's greatness all the more effective : हिमालय इव पर्वतानां ... भास्वान् इव ग्रहाणाम् , अश्वत्थ इव वृक्षाणां क्षीरोद इव सागराणाम् , अनन्त इव नागानां पाणिनिरिव वैयाकरणानां ... व्यास इव पुराविदां ... चण्डीदासो नाम वङ्गीयकवीनां वरः । p. 143

Prāptapatram unfolds a new form of essay writing in Sanskrit. It is written in the form of a letter addressed to the editor of *Vidyodaya* (Pt. Bhattacharya) by Anamika Devi of Poona. It mainly deals with two issues. The first part turns focus on the unhappy plight of the editor. It seems to be enlivened by an undercurrent of humour, but satire and anguish embedded therein sting one hard. In Anamika's perception it was anything but sane to waste away one's life on such a mindless pursuit as editing a Sanskrit Journal : भवांस्तु निष्प्रयोजनमेव बह्वायासेन विद्योदयं सम्पादयन् वृथैव क्षयं नीतवान् दुर्लभं मनुष्यजन्म । ... एवं निष्फलारम्भायासिनं भवन्तमालोक्य जाने भवान् नूनमप्यन्यास्मिन् जन्मनि कोऽपि कस्यापि कुलालपोतस्य प्रियसहायः पञ्चमान्यथासिद्धानामग्रिम एवासीत् । pp. 122-23

The second part highlights in forceful language, the miserable condition of women in the society. It is ironic that the learned Śāstrakāras, grammarians and poets are unanimous in denouncing the better half of man in shrill terms. Women, in their perception, is a hurdle in man's onward march an abode of sin a veritable demoness. In dwelling upon the so-called deceit and chicanery of woman, the author voices in essence the perception of the ancient lawgivers. It is, however, heartening that even in dealing with a dry subject, the poet's imagery and phraseology do not lose their poise: स्त्रियस्तावन्मनुष्यसमाजेषु ... सर्वदोषाणामाकराः सर्वपापानामाश्रयाः नित्यप्रवञ्चनचतुराः कुमार्गप्रवर्तननिपुणाः कुमन्त्रदानदक्षाः ----निरयाधिदेवता इव भूमण्डलावतीर्णा प्रत्यैयन्त । p. 129

Udbhija-pariṣat is an extraordinary essay that has earned the author unstinted plaudits from critics and connoisseurs alike. Its contents are as fascinating as winsome are its prose and diction. The Śāstric touch has heightened its effect manifold though that does not seem to be in tune with the writing's genius.

Udbhija-pariṣat means to be a devastating indictment of the inherent vile of man, the so-called best creation of god, through the Presidential Address of *Aśvattha* delivered with great eloquence in the vast assembly of trees and plants. The way the essayist has projected the plethora of man's infirmities in satirical phraseology serves to bring into relief his ingrained meanness with a vengeance. The sagacity that the creator displayed in creating the universe with its baffling variety, he set at naught the moment he fashioned man: मानवा नाम सर्वासु सृष्टिधारासु निकृष्टतमा सृष्टिः । ... मानवसर्गं विदधता पुनरनेन तत् सर्वमेकपद एवापहारितम् (p.40) । Man's meanness, the chairman assures us, knows no bounds. It is the height of his ingratitude that he spared no effort to blot out the existence of god, his own creator. Not to speak of the atheists, even the flag-bearers of theism have not lagged behind in the nefarious game. All the protagonists of theism, be they the logicians or vedantists, strained every nerve to negate the majesty of God with sham logic and to usurp his kingdom by vulgar display of their pedantry. The instrusion of philosophic speculations in the domain of poetry *(gadya)* may sound discordant but the brilliant exposition of *Nyāya* and *Vedānta* in intelligible language has virtually turned philosophy into a piece of winsome poetry.

As he comes out of the labyrinth of philosophy, the chairman tears to smithereens the much-vaunted greatness of man. मानवा इव परप्रतारकाः स्वार्थसाधनपरा मायाविनः कपटव्यवहारकुशला नीचस्वभावा हिंसाभिरता जीवा न सन्ति (p. 56), proceeding from this premise, the cruelty, greed, licentiousness, arrogance and deceit of man has been set forth in such stinging phraseology that, caught in its cobweb, he can hardly venture to don the mantle of so-called greatness. His very existence tends to sag under the weight of his pettiness. Aśvattha is convinced that by creating this species of living beings, the creator has only exposed himself to ridicule. Man is worse than beast: अथ ये तावत्तृणेभ्योऽप्यसाराः पशुभ्योऽपि निकृष्टतरास्तृणादि सृष्टेरनन्तरं तथाविधजीवनिर्माणं विश्वविधातुः कीदृशं बुद्धिमत्ताप्रकर्षं प्रकटयति ? (p. 64)

Mahāraṇyaparyavekṣaṇam (MP) is essentially a magnified version of *Udbhija-pariṣat.* It is the most comprehensive and distinguished piece in the collection. In scripting MP the author's art of essay-writing has blossomed to its utmost excellence. It is a writing which by itself has the credentials to establish the author as a prose-writer of high order. The way he has brought to bear his manifold equipment on MP reveals beyond doubt that he was keen to overwhelm the reader with the high quality of his fascinating prose.

The contents of MP do not differ much from that of *Udbhija-pariṣat* (UP). It also goes the whole hog to highlight the viles of man. The observation मानवा हि मे निखिलप्राणिवर्गेषु निकृष्टतमा प्रतिभान्ति MP (p. 110) is but an echo of मानवा नाम सर्वासु सृष्टिधारासु निकृष्टतमा सृष्टिः (UP, p. 40). This embryonic theme has been developed to the full by mustering the same *modus operandi* as is witnessed in the UP. Both the essays are couched in the form of Presidential Address.

While Aśvattha heads the assembly in UP, it is the king of jungle who presides over the concourse of animals. It is in analyzing the petition of the jungle folk that 'he' (lion) dwells with abandon on man's meanness vis-a-vis the animal world. The main difference between the two essays is that the 'philosophy' in UP is replaced by 'Politics' in MP. The lion expounds the evils of autocracy like a professor of politics with confidence and logic. Autocracy to him is the negation of freedom. The present system based on equality and freedom in his view, is best suited to the animals.

Not unlike UP the essay describes hereafter the manifold vices that plague the world of mortals. The exhaustive analysis is best summed up in the observation that man fares far worse than beast on every front, be it the eating habits, sexual behaviour or social conduct. In the matter of sexual operation, man has rather thrown all norms to the wind :न भवति चैषां चेतनाचेतनविवेकः नापि गम्यागम्यविचारः । p. 91

The second half of the essay which enigmatically picks up the thread after a gap of three days, is infested with descriptions. The descriptions of moon-rise, dawn, sun-rise, Durgāṣaṣṭī etc. though notable for poetic excellence, are essentially digressions that have been admitted in the essay to swell its size. Henceforth the essay begins to slide downwards. The tinge of humour at the end tickles the reader.

A parallel essay on the same issue can be justified on the ground that it has been dealt with here in a slightly different manner and in a more lively style.

Ātmavāyorudgāraḥ represents another facet of the Sanskrit essay. In the framework of the autobiographical details of Durganand Swami are found fitted such diverse subjects as man's crookedness, his aversion to the motherland and unhappy state of Sanskrit studies. Man's puffed up ego drives him to believe that he was as good as incarnation of God. Durganand is an embodiment of three incarnations, fish, tortoise and boar, because numerous beings of these classes find perpetual repose in his stomach. Flashes of Nṛsiṁha, Paraśurāma, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are also perceptible in his cosmopolitan persona. To him, the deal of जननी जन्मभूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी has now ceased to have relevance. Only an insane person would waste his life, confined like a prisoner to one country in the name of patriotism.

In *Udaradarśanam* finds expression a new style of Sanskrit essay. It is written in the form of *sūtras* which number eleven in the essay. The *vṛtti* thereon adds up to a semblance of essay. In view of its utter insatiability, *udara* is light-heartedly compared with Brahman. It shares all the characteristics that are associated with Brahman in the Veda. *Udaradarśanam* may broadly be called a philosophical essay.

The image of the author that emerges from the PM is that of a poet/*gadyakāra* who was well-equipped in grammar, philosophy, poetics, lexicon and other disciplines, who had judiciously imbibed the ancient tradition of prose-writing, who was greatly influenced by the majesty of Bāṇa's style but was not unduly overwhelmed by it, who has the vision to chan out a new course for him, who though fond of gimmicks of the Sanskrit prose, does not allow them to smother the effortless ease and limpid flow of his language, who regards lucidity, no complexity, as the life-breath of the writings of all hues. Bhattacharya is doubtless the mos illustrious of Bāṇa's successors. Though wedded to the *śāstra* and tradition, his writings are distinguished by pleasing poise and serenity. He has doubtless enriched his prose wit known gimmicks and trappings, but has not overburdened it with the śastric stuff.

Pt. Hrishikesh has obliquely referred to the characteristics that, in his view, should distinguis sober prose. *Ojas* is traditionally held to be its hallmark, but to him it is lucidity that impart prose an abiding glory (p. 149). Profundity of meaning and *upapatti* are its chief traits, but i is equally essential for it to shun such flaws as निरर्थकत्व and असमर्थत्व (p. 78). Bhattacharya ha lived upto the norms set by him with meticulous care. An undercurrent of lucidity indee flows through his phraseology, which is strengthened at appropriate places by *ojas* stemmin from a profusion of compounds. The author has an enviable command over the language keen power of observation and an uncanny expertise in mustering appropriate phraseology t accord with the genius of the subject under description. Every object comes to vibrate wit life at the touch of his pen. He is simply superb in capturing the totality of its traits wit winsome finesse. The perceptive description of the various actions of the lion, and th contours of his speech made to the jungle folk is so natural and lively that one feels that h was face to face with the king of jungle. तेषां तद्वचनमशेषमाकर्ण्य स्वभावगम्भीरस्यापि केसरिणः कोऽ प्रकृतिविपर्यासोऽदृश्यत । तथा ह्यस्य सटाच्छटा लौहशलाका इवोत्कीर्णाश्चक्षुषी आलोहिते, कर्णौ स्तब्धौ, जिह्वा विलोल घनस्पृष्टसृक्कणाग्रा चाभवत् । निर्जग्मुश्च मुहुर्दीधा समुत्तप्ताश्च प्रश्वासाः । ... ततो ... क्रोधानलशिखामुद्गिरद्भ्यां चक्षुभ् युगपन्निर्दहन्निव तान् सर्वानवलोकयन् ... उच्चैर्जृम्भणं चकार । ततश्च ... सर्वामेव तां महारण्यभुवं समुत्कम्पय मुहुर्मुहुरशनिनिर्घोषदारुणं निननाद । p. 77

The descriptions of the natural phenomena like the day-break, sun-rise, moon-rise an darkness, though infested with strings of compounds and admitted in the respective essay only to respect the theory are nevertheless replete with lovely imageries and serve to enlive the scenic beauties. The description of moon-rise calls notice.

अथ सुरवधूपन्यस्त सान्ध्यप्रदीपा इव क्रमेणैककशो विजजृम्भिरे गगनाङ्गने ज्योतींषि, विललेसुश्चेतश्चेतश्च वनदेव सचकिते क्षणानीव वनराजिषु ज्योतिरिङ्गणानि, उदियाय च सान्ध्यविधिपरिचिकीर्षयेवेषदुन्मुक्तशरन्नववधूवदनमण्डलमिवास्तमितसू शोकोन्मृष्टावशेषमाहेन्द्राशावधूसकुङ्कुमस्थासकमिवालोहितं षष्ठीसायन्तनचन्द्रबिम्बखण्डम्, विकासमी युश्च तदवलोकनकुतूहले जलदेवतेक्षणानीव कुमुदवनानि ... जहसुश्च घोरान्धकारातिक्रान्तिमुक्ताः सर्वा दिग्वध्वः । p. 104

The essays in the PM are dotted with a good number of word-sketches which impart them added charm. Drawn with precision, they turn out o be the verbal replicas of the objects under focus. The pen-pictures of Chaitanya Mahaprabhu and the city-deity Viśālākṣī tellingly illustrate the author's skill in the art.

The essays included in the Prabandhamañjarī reflect the various types and styles that Pt. Hrishikesh Bhattacharya had initiated and fostered with admirable skill and vision. It is to his credit that the Sanskrit essay had assumed diverse forms and dimensions even at the initial stage of its development. Pandit Hrishikesh was heir to the rich tradition of the earlier masters so far as the genius of prose-writing was concerned, and has himself bequeathed to the posterity a new literary form (= essay) with great potential to develop subsequently. And that is no small achievement on his part.

શ્રીસયાજી સાહિત્યમાળા

		રૂા. પૈ.
૩૫૧	**ગુજરાતનો પૉટરી ઉદ્યોગ** - શ્રી શાંતિલાલ પી. પુરોહિત (૧૯૭૫)	૯.૦૦
૩૫૨	**ઊંડાણનો તાગ** - શ્રી છોટુભાઈ સુથાર (૧૯૭૫)	૧૫.૦૦
૩૫૩	**ભારતીય વીણા** - (સ્વ.) પ્રો. રસિકલાલ એમ. પંડ્યા (૧૯૭૮)	૩૧.૦૦
૩૫૪	**ચરકનો સ્વાધ્યાય, ભાગ ૨** - (સ્વ.) બાપાલાલ ગ. વૈદ્ય (૧૯૭૯)	૯૬.૦૦
૩૫૫	**ચાંપાનેર : એક અધ્યયન** - પ્રો. રમણલાલ ના. મહેતા (૧૯૭૯)	૩૬.૦૦
૩૫૬	**દ્વારકાના પ્રદેશનો સાંસ્કૃતિક ઈતિહાસ** - (સ્વ.) શ્રી ક. ન. જોષી (૧૯૭૯)	૪૪.૦૦
૩૫૭	**આધુનિક ગુજરાતના સંતો, ભાગ ૨** - ડૉ. કેશવલાલ ઠક્કર (૧૯૭૯)	૪૫.૦૦
૩૫૮	**સૂર્યશક્તિ** - શ્રી પદ્મકાન્ત ર. શાહ (૧૯૮૧)	૫૩.૦૦
૩૫૯	**કવિ ગિરધર : જીવન અને કવન** - ડૉ. દેવદત્ત જોશી (૧૯૮૨)	૫૧.૦૦
૩૬૦	**વનૌષધિ-કોશ** - અધ્યા. કે. કા. શાસ્ત્રી (૧૯૮૨)	૩૬.૦૦
૩૬૧	**સહસ્રલિંગ અને રુદ્રમહાલય** - (સ્વ.) શ્રી કનૈયાલાલ ભા. દવે (૧૯૮૩)	૭૯.૦૦
૩૬૨	**વૈષ્ણવતીર્થ ડાકોર** · (સ્વ.) ડૉ. મંજુલાલ ર. મજમુદાર (૧૯૮૪)	૪૮.૦૦
૩૬૧	**વૃદ્ધત્રયી અને લઘુત્રયી** - (સ્વ.) બાપાલાલ ગ. શાહ (૧૯૮૪)	૩૩.૦૦
૩૬૩	**વડોદરા : એક અધ્યયન** - પ્રો. રમણલાલ નાગરજી મહેતા (૧૯૮૭)	૪૪.૦૦
૩૬૪	**મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ ત્રીજા** - (સ્વ.) પ્રો. હસિત હ. બૂચ (૧૯૮૮)	૪૯.૦૦
૩૬૫	**નાભાજીકૃત ભક્તમાલના ઐતિહાસિક ભક્તો - એક અધ્યયન** - શ્રી મૂલશંકર હી. કેવલિયા (૧૯૮૮)	૪૪.૦૦
૩૬૬	**લેસર (પરમતેજ)** - શ્રી પદ્મકાન્ત ર. શાહ (૧૯૯૦)	૪૮.૦૦
૩૬૮	**અર્વાચીન સંસ્કૃત સાહિત્યનો ઈતિહાસ** - (અનુ.) એ. જે. રાવલ અને વી. એસ. લેલે	૧૮૮.૦૦
૩૬૯	**મંજુલવિમર્શ** - શ્રી જે. પી. ઠાકર (૧૯૯૨)	૨૩૬.૦૦
૩૭૦	**પ્રાણવહસ્રોતોના રોગો : શ્વાસ-દમ** - વૈદ્ય મણિભાઈ બ્રહ્મભટ્ટ (૧૯૯૫)	૧૭૬.૦૦
૩૭૧	**વડોદરાનાં મંદિરો** - કુ. મંજુલા એમ. સોની (૧૯૯૫)	૬૮.૦૦
૩૧૭	**આહારવિજ્ઞાન** - (પુનઃમુદ્રણ) ડૉ. જયશંકર ધ. પાઠક અને (સ્વ.) અનંતરાય મ. રાવળ (૧૯૯૦)	૬૦.૦૦
૩૭૨	**ભવાઈ : સ્વરૂપ અને લક્ષણો** - કૃષ્ણકાંત ઓ. કડકિયા (૧૯૯૬)	૧૯૩.૦૦
૩૭૩	**શ્રીમદ્ ઉપેન્દ્રાચાર્યજી** - ડો. લવકુમાર મ. દેસાઈ (૧૯૯૬)	૧૯૫.૦૦
૩૭૪	**નાભાજીકૃત ભક્તમાલના ઐતિહાસિક ભક્તો - એક અધ્યયન, ભાગ ૨** - શ્રી મૂલશંકર હી. કેવલિયા (૧૯૯૮)	૧૦૬.૦૦
૩૭૫	**ભવાઈ : ભક્તિ, રસ અને આહાર્ય** - કૃષ્ણકાંત ઓ. કડકિયા (૨૦૦૩)	૧૩૫.૦૦
૩૭૬	**પ્લેટોના કેટલાક સંવાદો** - હરસિદ્ધ એમ. જોશી (૨૦૦૪)	૧૯૦.૦૦
૩૭૭	**કેવલજ્ઞાન સંપ્રદાય : સિદ્ધાંત અને સાહિત્ય** - બહેચરભાઈ પટેલ (૨૦૦૫)	૨૨૫.૦૦
૩૭૮	**વિદુરનીતિનું વિષયપરિશીલન** - ડૉ. અંબાલાલ દ. ઠાકર (૨૦૦૭)	૧૧૫ં.૦૦
૩૭૯	**સ્વાધ્યાય-સૂચિ (પુસ્તક ૧-૨૫)** - જયંત ઉમરેઠિયા (૨૦૦૭)	૨૧૫.૦૦
૩૮૦	**મહાભારતનો યુદ્ધકાળ**, વસંત અ. ગોડબોલે (૨૦૧૧)	૧૪૦.૦૦
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VEDIC ANTECEDENTS OF *DHARMAŚĀSTRA*

Madhavi Kolhatkar*

Introduction

As in many other respects, the Vedas are very important as the basis of Hindu or Indian religion (*Dharma*) and it is stated so by the ancient Indian *Dharmasūtras*: वेदो धर्ममूलम्/तद्विदां च स्मृतिशीले/"The Vedas are the basis of religion (*dharma*) and also the memory and behaviour of those who know them," *Gautamadharmasūtra* 1.1,2; धर्मज्ञसमयः प्रमाणं वेदाश्च /"The decisions of those who know the religion (*dharma*) and also the Vedas are the authority," *Āpastambadharmasūtra* 1.2. Following the *Dharmasūtras*, the *smṛtis* also have accepted, together with other ones, the authority of the Vedas, as is stated:

वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलं स्मृतिशीले च तद्विदाम् ।
आचारश्चैव साधूनामात्मनस्तुष्टिरेव च ।।*Manusmṛti* 2.6

श्रुतिः स्मृतिः सदाचारः स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः।
सम्यक्सङ्कल्पजः कामो धर्ममूलमिदं स्मृतम् ।। *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 1.7

Regarding the relation between the Vedas and the *Dharmaśāstra,* Kane has observed, "If one were to collect together the scattered Vedic texts on such topics of Hindu law as marriage, adoption, joint family, partition, inheritance, *Stridhana*, one would find that the information is of considerable importance and is not quite meagre as one is apt to suppose. The conclusion would irresistibly force itself upon us that the foundations of the Hindu law are deeply laid in the Vedic age itself, that the peculiar characteristics that distinguish the Hindu Law of modern times from other systems of law, had their gene in the Vedic period and that later Hindu jurists were not wrong when they relied upon the Veda as the source of *dharma*," [1922: 57] In this connection Kane has quoted many passages to support his arguments.

At the end of his article he has stated, "In the foregoing only such topics as are of great

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interest to students of modern Hindu Law have been taken for treatment. There are many other points falling within the scope of Dharmaśāstra as conceived in ancient India, such as judicial procedure, crimes and their punishments, ordeals, on which Vedic Literature yields valuable information. Such topics have been here omitted for various reasons, but particularly from considerations of space.'' An attempt has been made in this paper to deal with some such cases.

Case 1

Niyoga is a practice observed in Ancient India to secure a child for a widow or for a woman whose husband cannot produce a child. It was either her brother-in-law or a close relative of her husband who was appointed by the elders to impregnate her. While dealing with this practice, Kane has stated, "There was difference of opinion as to whom the child of *niyoga* belonged. *Vāsiṣṭhadharmasūtra* 8.17.6 expressly refers to this divergence. The first view was that the child belonged to the begetter; this view would cut at the very root of the purpose for which *niyoga* was recommended. *Nirukta* III.1-3 supports this view and relies on *Ṛgveda*. VII.4.7-8. *Gautamadharmasūtra*18.9 and *Manusmṛti* IX.181 state the same rule. *Āpastambadharmasūtra* II.6.13.5 says that according to a *Brāhmaṇa* text, the son belongs to the begetter,'' [1941: p.605]

The citations referred to in this passage and which are given by Kane in the foot-notes are: तद्यथा जनयितुः प्रजा एवमर्थीये ऋचावुदाहरिष्यामः, *Nirukta* 3.1 (Ṛgveda7.4.7,8);

उत्पादयितुः पुत्रः इति हि ब्राह्मणम् *Āpastambadharmasūtra* 2.6.13;

and

पाणिग्राहस्य पुत्र इति वेदेषु निश्चितम् *Mahābhārata* 1.104.6. (In the critical edition, the citation at 1.98.5 reads: पाणिग्राहस्य तनय इति वेदेषु निश्चितम् ।)

It is interesting to see if these or similar citations can be traced back to the Vedas as they are said to be. In this regard, a passage from *Kāṭhakasaṁhitā* is important. It occurs at 13.3. The topic there, however, is not of *niyoga* but of ownership of son in disputable situation. Thus it reads यज्ञो वै दक्षिणाम् अभ्यकामयत । तां समभवत् । सा गर्भमधत्त । तमववृज्य प्राद्रवत् । तम् अववृक्तं शयानमदितिरचायत् । तमाहरत् । तमधस्तादूर्वोरुपास्यत । सोऽधस्तादूर्वोरवर्धत । तस्मादेष तिर्यङ्ङिव वीषितोऽधस्ताद्ध्यूर्वोरवर्धत । तं विष्णुरचायत् । तमभ्यवदत् । तस्मिन् प्रश्नमैताम् । तं विष्णवेऽन्वब्रुवन् । तस्मादाहुः कर्तुरिव पुत्र इति ।

"The sacrifice had desire for *dakṣiṇā* (the sacrificial gift). He got united with her. She became pregnant. She ran away abandoning it (either the foetus or the born child). Aditi noticed it lying having been so abandoned. She brought and placed it below her thighs. It grew below the thighs. Therefore, it stretched or spread out variously and grew below the thighs. Viṣṇu saw and claimed it. On that matter they went to court. They(the judges) declared or issued the verdict that it belonged to Viṣṇu. Therefore it is said that the son belongs to the creator, i.e. the father. (English translation by author herself.)

(In this passage, sacrifice is to be understood as a form of Viṣṇu. Then only the passage makes sense.)

Here one comes across the judicial terms such as *abhivad, praśnam ai* and *anubrū* meaning respectively 'claim', 'to go to court or make an appeal' and 'to give or issue a verdict'. Further is stated a rule or almost a law in the form of verdict that *kartureva putraḥ.*

Regarding the passages in the Vedas, Kane has commented, "Vedas do not contain positive precepts (*vidhis*) on matters of *dharma* in a connected form; but they contain incidental references to various topics that fall under the domain of *dharmaśāstra* as conceived in later times," [Vol. 1, 1930: 5]. He further repeats it at the end of the article, "...as said above, the Vedas do not profess to be formal treatises on *dharma*; they contain only disconnected statements on the various aspects of *dharma*..." [Vol.1, 1930: 7] However, the present passage seems to be an exception to it.

In present times a practice similar to *niyoga* is found which is known as 'sperm donation'. In that also sometimes the problem of paternity arises. There is a case cited on the internet which is given in notes[1].

Case 2

The other example is from the *Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa* (JB.), which is a text of a very peculiar nature and belongs to the *Sāmaveda*. There occurs a myth in connection with the *Vārśa sāman.* The passage reads:

अथ वार्शम् । वृशो वै जानस्त्रियरुणस्य त्रैवृष्णस्य ऐक्ष्वाकस्य राज्ञः पुरोहित आस । अथ ह स्म ततः पुरा राजभ्यः पुरोहिता एव रथान् संगृह्णन्त्यौपद्रष्ट्याय - नेद् अयं पापं करवद् इति । तौ हाधावयन्तौ ब्राह्मणकुमारं पथि क्रीडन्तं रथचक्रेण विचिच्छिदतुः । इतरो हाधावयन्नभिप्रयुयावापेतर आययाम । स हाधिगत्य न शशाकापायन्तुम् । तं ह तद् एव विचिच्छिदतुः । तस्मिन् होदाते - त्वं हन्तासि त्वं हन्तासीति । स ह वृशोऽभीशून् प्रकीर्यावतिष्ठन्नुवाच - त्वं हन्तासीति । नेति होवाच । यो वै रथं संगृह्णाति स रथस्येशे । त्वं हन्तासीति । नेति हेतर उवाचाप वा अहम् आयांसं स त्वम् अभिप्रायौषीस् त्वम् एव हन्तासीति ।।३.९४।।-

"Now Vṛśa, the *sāman of* Vṛśa. Vṛśa Jāna (the son of Jana) was the priest of Triyaruṇa, who was Traivṛṣṇa Aikṣvākava, i.e. the son of Trivṛṣṇa, the descendent of the Ikṣvākus. In those ancient times, it was the priests only who held the reigns of the chariots of the kings for supervision, lest he commits sin. When those two were running or driving the chariot, they crushed a Brahmin boy with one of the chariot wheels, who was playing on the street. The one who was making to drive the chariot instigated (the driver to drive fast) while the other tried to persuade him from doing that. But having reached (the child) he could not control. They crushed him then and there itself. Regarding that they accused (each other), "You are the killer!" "You are the killer!"

That Vṛśa threw away the reins, got down and said, "You are the killer." "No," he (Triyaruṇa) said, "The one who has the reins is the master or is in charge of the chariot or the chariot is at his disposal. You are the killer."

"No," said the other, "I tried to bring it under control. It is you who instigated and hastened. Hence you are the killer!" (3.94)

तौ वै -पृच्छावहा इति । तौ हेक्ष्वाकून् एव प्रश्नम् एयतुः । ते हेक्ष्वाकव ऊचूर् - यो वाव रथं संगृह्णाति स रथस्येशे । त्वम् एव हन्तासीति वृशमेव पराब्रुवन् । सोऽकामयतोद् इत इयां गातुं नाथं विन्देय । सम् अयं कुमारो जीवेद् इति । स एतत् सामापश्यत् । तेनैनं समैरयद् आ ते दक्षं मयोभुवम् इति । प्राणा वै दक्षाः । प्राणान् एवास्मिंस् तद् अद्धात्।...।।95।।

Then both of them said, "Let us ask (or go to court or make an appeal)." They went to Ikṣvākus with the appeal. Those Ikṣvākus said, "The one who has the controls is in charge or the master of the chariot" and Vṛśa they accused, "You are the killer!"

Then he desired, "Let me come out of this. Let me be able to sing and get the way out and help. Let this boy come to life." He saw this *sāman*. By singing that as *ā te dakṣaṁ mayobhuvam* he stirred him to life. The dexterities are the breaths. With those he placed breaths in him. ... 3.95

स क्रुद्धो जनम् अगच्छत् । अनृतं मा व्यवोचन्निति । तेषां हेक्ष्वाकूणाम् अग्नेर् हरोऽपाक्रामत्। यं सायम् ओदनम् अध्यदधुः प्रातस्सोऽपच्यत । यं प्रातम् सायं सः । ते होचुर् ब्राह्मणं वा अनार्यम् अपाराम । तेषां नोऽग्नेर् हरोऽपाक्रमीत् । एतैनम् अमुमन्त्रयामहा इति । तम् अन्वमन्त्रयन्त । स आगच्छद् यथा राज्ञा ब्राह्मणोऽनुमन्त्र्यमाण आगच्छेद् एवम् । स आगत्याकामयत पश्येयम् इदम् अग्नेर् हर इति । स एतत् सामापश्यत् । तद् अभ्यगायत । तद् अपश्यत् - पिशाची वा इयं त्रियरुणस्य जाया । सैनत् कशिपुना छादयित्वाध्यास्त इति । तद् अभिव्याहरत् ... इत्य् एवैनाम् इदम् अग्नेर् हर ऊर्ध्वम् उदद्रवत् सर्वां प्रादहत् । ततो वै ते यथायथम् अग्नेर् हरो व्यहरन्त । यथायथम् एभ्योऽग्निर् अपचत् । तद् एतत् दीप्तिर् ब्रह्मवर्चसं साम । एतेन वा अग्नेर् हरोऽपाक्रान्तं अन्वविन्दन् । ... ।।९६।।

Becoming angry he went to Jana (his father), saying, "They have convicted me wrongly."

The brilliance and the heat of the fire of the Ikṣvākus went away. The rice which they kept (on fire) in the evening got cooked in the morning; and that in the morning got cooked in the evening. They said, "We have treated a Brahmin ignobly. Therefore, the heat or power of our fire has gone away. Come on, let us call him." They called him. He came as a Brahmin comes being called by a king. After coming, he desired, "Let me see the heat or power of the fire." He saw this *sāman* and sang it. At that time, he saw that the wife of Triyaruṇa is a *piśācī*. She is keeping the fire covered with a cushion. Then he brought her under his spell with the verses beginning with *kumāraṁ mātā...*

Then the heat of the fire flashed forth (in the form of flames) and burnt her completely. Then they arranged the flames of the fire properly for them as they wanted. Then the fire cooked properly for them. Thus this *sāman* is the brilliance and splendour of a Brahmin. Since Vṛśa saw it, it is called *Vāṛśa*,"(3. 96)

There is a little problem in the passage. The passage *sa kruddhaḥ ... up to apākramīt* creates the impression that it is due to Vṛśa's wrath that the fire has withheld its heat. The Ikṣvākus also say so among themselves. However, neither do they apologize when Vṛśa comes to them, nor does he express his resentment to them. The next part of the story then is totally different, which suggests that it was the wife of Triyaruṇa who was responsible for it. Is Vṛśa taking revenge of the Ikṣvākus in this way?

Similar passage occurs in the *Pañcaviṁśa brāhmaṇa* also which reads:

वार्शं भवति ।।१३.३.११।। वृशो वै जानस्त्र्यरुणस्य त्रैधात्वस्यैक्ष्वाकस्य पुरोहित आसित् । स ऐक्ष्वाकोऽधावयत् । ब्राह्मणकुमारं रथेन व्यच्छिनत् । स पुरोहितमब्रवीत् तव मा पुरोधायामिदमीदृगुपागादिति । तमेतेन साम्ना समैरयद् । तद्धाव स तर्ह्यकामयत । कामसनि साम वार्शम् । काममेवैतेनावरुन्धे ।।१३.३.१२।।

Caland has translated it:

"There is *Vārśa* (-sāman). Vṛśa the son of Jana, was the house-chaplain of Tryaruṇa, Tridhātu's son, of the Ikṣvāku-family. This (Tryaruṇa) of the Ikṣvāku-family, (once) riding out on his chariot, destroyed (ran over) the child (boy) of a Brāhmin. He said to his chaplain: 'Under thy chaplainship has such a thing happened unto me.' (Sāyaṇa, however, while commenting on it has taken the boy to have said thus to Vṛśa,) as he comments :

स कुमारः पुरोहितं वृशमब्रवीत् तव पुरोधायां पौरोहित्ये वर्तमाने मां इदानीं ईदृक् एवं रूपं हिंसनम् उपागात् प्राप्नोदिति ।

He (Vṛśa) by means of this melody restored him to life: such had been his wish at that moment. Wish-granting is the *vārśa-sāman*; he (who applies it in lauding) gets (the fulfilment of) his wish."

However, there is no reference whatsoever to the quarrel and going with an appeal etc.

Now regarding *Dharmaśāstra,* in *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* there is a verse regarding the accidents of the vehicles. Thus it is:

छिन्ननस्येन यानेन तथा भग्नयुगादिना ।
पश्चाच्चैवापसरता हिंसने स्वाम्यदोषभाक् ।।२.२९९।।

"In the case of injuries caused by a conveyance owing to the nose-string having been snapped, or the yoke and the like having been broken, or by a rear motion (of the animals), the owner shall not be blamed," [translated by Narayan Ram Acarya)

Manu has also dealt with accidents in the eighth chapter of his treatise.[1]

यानस्य चैवयातुश्च यानस्वामिन एव च ।
दशातिवर्तनान्याहुः शेषे दण्डो विधीयते ।।२९०।।

They declare with respect to a carriage, its driver and its owner, (that there are) ten cases in which no punishment (for damage done) can be inflicted; in other cases a fine is prescribed. (Translation by Bühler 1964: 305,30)

छिन्ननास्ये भग्नयुगे तिर्यक्प्रतिमुखागते ।
अक्षभङ्गे च यानस्य चक्रभङ्गे तथैव च ।।२९१।।

When the nose-string is snapped, when the yoke is broken, when the carriage turns sideways or back, when the axle or a wheel is broken.

छेदने चैव यन्त्राणां योक्त्ररश्म्योस्तथैव च ।
आक्रन्दे चाप्यपैहीति न दण्डं मनुरब्रवीत् ।।२९२।।

When the leather-thongs, the rope around the neck or the bridle are broken, and when (the driver) has loudly called out, 'Make way,' Manu has declared (that in all these cases) no punishment (shall be inflicted).

यत्रापवर्तते युग्यं वैगुण्यात्प्राजकस्य च ।
तत्र स्वामी भवेद्दण्ड्यो हिंसायां द्विशतं दमम् ।।२९३।।

But if the cart turns off (on the road) through the driver's want of skill, the owner shall be fined, if damage (is done), two hundred (*paṇas*).

प्राजकश्चेद्भवेदाप्तः प्राजको दण्डमर्हति ।
युग्यस्थाः प्राजकेऽनाप्ते सर्वे दण्ड्याः शतं शतम् ।।२९४।।

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[1] Manusmṛti : 8, 290-298

If the driver is skilful (but negligent), he alone shall be fined; if the driver is unskilful, the occupants of the carriage (also) shall be each fined one hundred (*paṇas*).

स चेत्तु पथि संरुद्धः पशुभिर्वा रथेन वा ।
प्रमापयेत्प्राणभृतस्तत्र दण्डोऽविचारितः।।२९५।।

But if he is stopped on his way by cattle or by (another) carriage, and he causes the death of any living being, a fine shall without doubt be imposed.

मनुष्यमारणे क्षिप्रं चौरवत्किल्बिषं भवेत् ।
प्राणभृत्सु महत्स्वर्धं गोगजोष्ट्रहयादिषु ।।२९६।।

"If a man is killed, his guilt will be at once the same as (that of) a thief; for large animals such as cows, elephants, camels or horses, half of that."

क्षुद्रकाणां पशूनां तु हिंसायां द्विशतो दमः ।
पञ्चाशत्तु भवेद्दण्डः शुभेषु मृगपक्षिषु ।।२९७।।

For injuring small cattle, the fine (shall be) two hundred (*paṇas*); the fine for beautiful wild quadrupeds and birds shall amount to fifty (*paṇas*).

गर्दभाजाविकानां तु दण्डः स्यात्पञ्चमाषिकः ।
माषिकस्तु भवेद्दण्डः श्वसूकरनिपातने ।।२९८।।

For donkeys, sheep and goats the fine shall be five *māṣas*; but the punishment for killing a dog or a pig shall be one *māṣa*.

When the sites on internet regarding the modern law related accidents were checked, a similar case was found where an actor was involved in a car accident :

Scenario 1:

The owner is not in the car at the time of the accident: Whether it's a case of negligent driving or a case of drunken driving, the onus is on the person driving. The car owner can be liable if the car was not in roadworthy condition.

Scenario 2:

The owner is in the car when the accident occurs:

The car owner (the one in whose name the vehicle is registered) is not liable as long as he has not instigated the driver to drive fast and rashly. Mere words from the driver saying he was under the owner's instruction, will not hold up in court. Under civil and criminal law, the relationship between the car owner and driver is defined as 'master' and 'servant' and the master cannot be held liable for the wrongdoing of the servant, unless it is proved it was done under such consent or permission by the master. The criteria is evidence in such cases.

The owner may be held accountable only if the police investigations show his vehicle was unfit for road driving and yet he knowingly used the same, says Vaswani.

Victim's compensation

"Once it is found that vehicle is involved in the accident, the MACT (Motor Acciden Claims Tribunal) will pass an interim award under the principles of 'no fault liability'. Thi means that the amount is payable, not because there was fault on the part of the driver of th vehicle, but because the vehicle was involved in the accident.

Conclusion:

It becomes clear that the law has not much changed from the time of Vedas upto moder times.

--x--x--

Note:

The custody dispute between "The Lost Boys" actor Jason Patric and his former girlfrien took a twist on Wednesday with a California appeals court ruling that upheld the paternit rights of a sperm donor who has demonstrated a close and committed relationship with hi child. The decision reversed a trial court ruling denying Mr.Patric custody and visitatio rights of his four-year-old son, Gus, who was born by artificial insemination.Wednesday' decision set a new legal precedent in the state for the rights of sperm donors. Interpretin state family law, California courts had never recognized a right of a sperm donor who isn' married to the mother to make a paternity claim.

There are some more cases cited from USA. as well as from Great Britain under th headings, Legal Paternity after Sperm Donation, Private Insemination Arrangement, Using Known Sperm Donor: Understanding the Legal Risks and Challenges, etc.

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ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE & CONSERVATION OF RELIGIOUS TREES IN VEDAS: PRESENT & FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

C.B. Arora*

The Tree may be defined as a perennial plant having fully distinguishable root and shoot system. In general, they are woody with well developed vascular tissue. The earliest mention of the trees is found in the *Ṛgveda*, the oldest repository of human knowledge. A long hymn (X.97) of the *Ṛgveda* is devoted to worshipping the trees and plants with special reference to their healing properties. In the *Atharvaveda* or *Brahma Veda* trees and plants are also mentioned with special reference to their healing properties and their capacity of warding of the demons (*rākṣasas*). In the *Ṛgveda,* the cult of trees is well recognized. Therefore, the trees were implored to bestow for good offspring, various worldly amenities and also for long life without any disease.

The tree is known as *Vṛkṣa* in Sanskrit. Hence, the word *Vṛkṣa* is general term for tree in the *Saṁhitās* and post Vedic literature. There are twelve synonyms of *Vṛkṣa* (वृश्चयते छेद्यते इति वृक्ष that which is cut) found in the *Amarakośa* (IV.25) such as: *Mahīruha* (-that which grows on the earth), *Śākhī* (-that which has branches), *Pādapa* (-that which drinks sap with roots), *Taru* (तरन्ति अनेन आतपम् - that by which people overcome heat), *Anokaha* (अनसः शकटस्याकं गतिं हन्ति - that which obstructs the pace of a cart), *Kuṭa, Śāla,* Palāśa (- that which have leaves), *Dru, Druma* (that which has a part of the tree), and *Agama* (न गच्छति इति अगम - that which does not move). From the following Ṛgvedic *mantra*[1]: "तष्टेव वृक्षं वनिनो नि वृश्चसि परश्वेव नि वृश्चसि" the etymology of *Vṛkṣa* can be assumed. So, the term *Vṛkṣa* could be derived from the root वृश्च्- meaning 'to crash down or cut down' (वृक्षो व्रश्चनात्[2]). The names of different *Vṛkṣas* are found in the Vedic Literature, as: *Aśvattha, Udumbara, Karkandhu, Khadira, Nyagrodha, Palāśa, Pippala, Bilva, Śamī, Śālmalī,* etc. At the time of Vedic sacrifice the woods, leaves, fruits and

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1. *Ṛgveda,* I.130.4.

2. *Nirukta,* II.16.

flowers of the trees are needed. So, before cutting the trees or *Śākhās* of the trees, the priest used to worship the trees with chanting the Vedic *mantras*. Besides, for making utensils used in the sacrifice and *yūpa*, etc., the necessity of the woods of the trees is essential.

Regarding the importance of the *Vṛkṣas* the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*[3] says: "नमो वृक्षेभ्यो हरिकेशेभ्यो"- homage to the trees with green tress. In the *Rudrādhyāya,* the above *mantra* occurs and homage is paid to Lord Rudra. The connection between Rudra and green trees is interesting. In the *Atharvaveda* (XVIII.2.25), tree (*vṛkṣa*) denotes the coffin made from a tree, no doubt by hallowing it out. Generally, the tree is called *Vanaspati* or a large forest tree, especially one that bears fruit apparently without any blossoms.[4] The word *Vanaspati* (lit. lord of the forest) appears to have originally denoted trees in general. The meaning of the term came to be contracted in later times when it used to mean a tree bearing fruits without flowering. The word *Vana* appears in the early stages to denote trees in a collective sense.

In the Vedas, we find traces of *Vṛkṣa* worship, as the *Vṛkṣa*s are regarded to be incarnations or symbols of the various gods or deities. Many conjectures have been prevalent regarding the origin of tree worship among the idolatrous people. The reason may be simple enough. Was it not most natural that the persons who worshipped many different objects should offer homage to trees or *Vanaspatis* pre-eminently valuable as a source and basis of material wealth? They are, therefore, worshipped as gods to show the high value they contain in them. Besides, trees are also worshipped as they are associated with various Hindu mythologies. To understand man, it is essential that one must understand the world of trees or *Vṛkṣas.* Man may be isolated by the power of reasoning and intellectual pursuit, but one can not afford to isolate man from the tree world. However, the relationship between man and trees is based on religion. Everything is consecrated at the altar of religion. There is a long list of sacred trees, which are associated with the Hindu religion. Hence, in the *Ṛgveda,* the cult of trees and, above all, the forest trees is well recognized. It is invoked in a few passages along with the waters and mountains. In the later *Maṇḍalas* of the *Ṛgveda,* the trees are the favourite homes of the gods and goddesses. Therefore, when a marriage procession happens to pass by the trees, deities (*Vana-devatās*) are prayed to for favour. In the marriage rituals also the use of the parts of trees is one of the common features. It is also seen that the Vedic literature bears no mention of marriage of a person to a tree which in modern Hindu world precedes certain classes of marriage. The sacrificial posts are to be made from the tree and this belief about the trees is the same as that adopted in the domestic ritual. The tree, when it is made into the form of a post, is adorned profusely which proves its living character.

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3. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, IV.5.2.
4. Apte, V.S., *The Students' Sanskrit English Dictionary*, 1988 edition, p. 490.

Hence, it is obvious that the *Vṛkṣas* or trees are being respectfully worshipped for their good qualities and other valuable contributions to the human-beings in the society, since time immemorial. Trees provide sweet fruits, which are rich in nutritional value. Besides, the woods and leaves of the trees are also highly useful for the men for financial, medicinal and spiritual reasons. No one can deny the usefulness of trees in the society. Therefore, trees command respect from human-beings. However, it is widely acknowledged in Hindu religion that trees are the abodes of different gods and goddesses. Therefore, tree worship emerged and it is now a very popular aspect of the society.

Thus, we find that trees were intimately associated with the life of the ancient Indians. Naturally a spirit of enquiry grew among them as to the effect of trees growing near their dwelling places. While some trees were regarded as salutary, others were looked upon as bed. This sort of speculation originated as early as the Vedic period. It is learnt from the Vedas that Vedic people believed some trees to be haunts of evil spirits. For example, *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra*[5] holds that *Aśvattha* involves danger of fire to the house; *Udumbara* leads to optical diseases etc. In the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā,* such trees as *Aśoka, Punnāga,* etc. are conducive to welfare. From the *Atharvaveda* we learn that trees and plants were used not only for the preservation and improvement of health but also for the acquisition of sons and warding off the influence of evil spirits.

Our sacred scriptures have shown various ways to lead a pious and holy life. It is known that the four *Āśramas, viz. Brahmacarya, Gārhasthya, Vānaprastha* and *Sannyāsa,* were existing in our Vedic society. Each of the *āśramas* constitutes a stage of life in which the individual has to train himself for a certain period and exert himself within the circuit of the same to qualify him for the next. In the *Vānaprastha-āśrama,* the man has to live in the forest after completion of fifty years of his life for securing the liberation of his soul. In this third stage of life, a man has to live in the forest for getting spiritual perfection and final salvation. In this *āśrama,* the forests played a vital role in conceiving this resolution and life of seclusion. The choice of vegetable food is essential. Meditation and contemplation of God is easy in the lap of nature under the trees. The union with the Absolute is attained in the jungle, i.e. in the shadow of trees, where air dare not infiltrate. In addition to these, it is also known that not only men, sages and seers, but gods also meditated under the cool shade of the trees of the forests. A number of seers attained the light of wisdom and liberation in their meditation under the tree. Hence, the trees or *Vṛkṣas* play a significant role for providing good environment to a spiritual man or a seer for proper living and attaining the emancipation or Supreme Peace.

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[5] *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra IV.7.*

Besides, for performing sacrifices one has to collect woods from the sacrificial trees. According to the *Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa*, the following trees are said to be useful for sacrifice viz. *Śamī, Aśvattha, Palāśa, Khadira, Vikaṅkata, Kāśmarya, Udumbara* and *Bilva*.[6] Generally a question arises whether the fruits and flowers of a tree can be used if it is planted in an impure place, i.e. burial ground? Its answer is given by the *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra* as:

अमेध्येषु च ये वृक्षा उप्ताः पुष्पफलोपगाः ।
तेषामपि न दूष्यन्ति पुष्पाणि च फलानि च ।।[7]

It means, the fruit-bearing trees even if they have been planted in an impure place; still its fruits or flowers are not being considered as defiled, i.e. the fruits and flowers of these trees can be used in the sacrifice or in any other worship.

In the *Gṛhya Sūtras*[8], *Palāśa, Nyagrodha* and *Udumbara*, somewhere *Bilva* also have been declared as sacrificial trees (*yājñika vṛkṣā*).The staffs (*daṇḍas*) of the *Brahmacārīns* should be made from the auspicious sacrificial trees. In the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*[9], the *Palāśa* has been prescribed for Brahmins, *Udumbara* for Kṣatriya's and *Bilva* for Vaiśya's staff (*Upanayana daṇḍa*). But in the *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, the staff of the Brahmin should be made of the wood of *Bilva* or *Palāśa* tree[10]. In the *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, the actual size of the staff is also prescribed for different castes. As rightly said:

मूर्धाललाटनासाग्रप्रमाणा याज्ञिकस्य वृक्षस्य दण्डाः ।[11] I.2.3.16

The size of staff of the *Brahmacārins* should be up-to the head, forehead and nose. Because, their sizes also have been specified according to the caste of the students, e.g. Brahmin's staff should reach up-to his nose, that of a Kṣatriya should reach up-to the forehead and that of a Vaiśya should be up-to his hair[12]. But the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya -Sūtra* opined about

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6. शम्यश्वत्थः पलाशश्च खदिरोऽथ विकण्कतः ।
काश्मर्यौदुम्बरो बिल्वो यज्ञ वृक्षः प्रकीर्तितः ।। *Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa*, XXIII.6.5.

7. *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, I.6.9.4.

8. *Śāṅkhyāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, II.1.18-20.

9. *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* I.19.13.

10. *Vailvopālāśau brūhmaṇadaṇḍau* ||

11. *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, I.2.3.16.

12. Cf. *Śāṅkhyāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, II.1.21-23.

this staff just in reverse order[13]. Beside wood of the trees, the colour or *rasa* of the trees was also used for the garments or dresses of the *Brahmacārins*. The garment of a Brahmin *Brahmacārī* should be dyed with a red colour dye produced from a tree. And the garment of rest two castes (Kṣatriya and Vaiśya) should be dyed with madder or turmeric colour, produced from the tree. Hence, in this way, the trees and its colours are very useful for various purposes, as prescribed in the Vedic texts.

In the Vedic tradition, creation is conceived of as a tree. This cosmic tree is called Aśvattha. All the gods are seated on its branches. This is the tree of eternal life as existing on the universal plane and also in each individual centre. In the Indian religious tradition, this tree is elaborately described with respect to its roots, leaves, branches, stem, fruits, sap, source, and existence in time and space. The three worlds, the three divisions of time, the three gods are all comprehended by the cosmic Aśvattha. In the *Ṛgveda*, it is called *Vanaspati*, the Lord of the forests; its stately existence and the erect stature between the earth and heaven justify this majestic description. It is called the tree with a thousand branches (सहस्रवल्शा वनस्पति[14]).Each Universe is like a branch of this tree, being kept green with foliage by the sap that runs through the body of the tree. The branch, the tree and the forest, all represent an integrated pattern, i.e. the tree forms an assemblage in the forest and the forest is an aggregate of trees. The universe is conceived of as the forest and each world as a tree stands therein. Both are aspects of *Brahman*. In the *Ṛgveda*, we see the following verse, asking about the forest and the tree from which heaven and earth were fashioned:

किं स्विद्वनं क उ स वृक्ष आस यतो द्यावापृथिवी निष्टतक्षुः ।
मनीषिणो मनसा पृच्छतेदु तद्-यदध्यतिष्ठद्भुवनानि धारयन् ।।[15]

The answers to the questions posed here are available in a verse preserved in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, in which Brahman is said to be the forest and the tree functioning both as the efficient and material cause of creation, as well as its support. The verse is as follows:

ब्रह्मवनं ब्रह्म सवृक्ष आसीत् ।
यतो द्यावापृथिवी निष्टतक्षुः ।

मनीषिणो मनसा विब्रवीमि वः ।
ब्रह्माध्यतिष्ठद्भुवनानि धारयन् ।।[16]

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[13] *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, I.19.13.

[14] *Ṛgveda*, VII.33.9.

[15] *Ibid.*, X.81.4.

[16] *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, II.8.9.6.

The cosmic tree is loaded with green foliage (*supalāśa*) and each leaf is said to represen the Vedas, i.e. the wisdom or thought of the Creator which is manifest completely at ever living point of tree. Each leaf or the smallest blade of green grass is a picture of Prajāpati; as he is, so is this. The constituents of *prāṇa* or the life principle are three fold both in th cosmos and in each organism. As a matter of fact, in the words of modern science, a individual cell is the tiniest constituent of life and whatever exists in the universe as th mystery which creates life is also present with all its heavenly and earthly powers in th centre of the cell. Thus, in the *Kena Upaniṣad*, the smallest sample of *prāṇa* is called *tṛṇa*, a blade of grass of which the mystery is not comprehended by the gods, Agni and Vāyu, and i the presence of which Indra also disappears. The mystery appears as a Yakṣa, which literall is the symbol of the mysterious tree. Its secret is revealed only to Haimavatī -Umā, the Grea Goddess, who is the Mother and who gives birth to the life principle that is *prāṇa*.[17]

Besides Aśvattha, some other trees were also worshipped in the Vedic period. These tree are: *Khadira* (*Ṛgveda* (ṚV) III.53.19, AV III.6.1; V. 5. 5, *etc.*), *Palāśa* or *Kiṃśuka* (ṚV X 85.20; AV III.5.4.8, *etc.*), *Nyagrodha* (ṚV I.24.7; AV IV.37.4, V. 5.5, *etc.*), *Śamī* (AV VI.11.1; *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, V.1.9.6; *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā*, XXXVI.6, *etc.*)*Vaṭa*, *Bilva*, Neem *etc.*

In Vedic India, we find that various agricultural and sacrificial appliances and vessels wer made of wood. The *Vibhīdaka* tree (ṚV VII.86.6; X.34.1) supplied the wood with which dic (*akṣa*) were made. The juice, extracted from Soma, which has not yet been definitely identifie was regarded as the most exhilarating drink. The familiarity of ancient Indians with th various matters relating to the plant kingdom is evident from such terms as *Vṛkṣāyurved* which means the science of treatment of trees and plant diseases. Gradually man came t learn a lot about the medicinal value of fruits, roots, herbs, leaves, *etc.* In ancient India, w find a number of trees and plants of therapeutic value. In course of time, the flowers provide by trees served to give delight to people, and came to be used as offerings to gods, goddesse and near and dear ones on happy occasions. The Indian civilization was mainly based o forests. The Upaniṣads, the products of the highest human wisdom, had originated in th sylvan surroundings. The seers of old meditated in the sequestered forest far away from th madding crowd of people, and gave the world gems of thought. That the solitude of the fore was favourable to meditation is attested by the very title Āraṇyakas of which the Upaniṣa formed parts. The forest provided shelters not only to the recluse but also to worldly men i the third stage, i.e. *Vānaprastha* of their lives.

Besides, at the time of a Vedic sacrifice in the Vedic society it was the custom to cut a branch of these sacred trees and bring it home with proper ceremony. This tree cult gave rise to a class of temple as residence of the God. In early stages, a tree is excavated and in that excavated hallow is put the effigy of the solar deity to rest. In course of time, this resting hollow of the solar deity was turned to a type of temples with round dome resembling rounded shape of the branches of the tree. From the conception of the tree worship current among various nations it is evident that the cult of tree was not a savage or barbarous cult. It arose in the societies with a given amount of refinement and culture.

This way, we find that the trees or *Vṛkṣas* were intimately associated with the life of the ancient Indians. Hence, it can be said that the trees played a vital role to provide all type of pleasures to the human beings in various occasions.

Regarding the conservation of trees now a day our Government is taking steps to plant new trees and preserves the old trees. It is also fully restricted by the Government to not to cut trees without any reason. The Government is also propagating the Medicinal values of trees and plants and trying it best to create awareness among the people regarding the scientific as well as religious value of trees. The society must be benefited by the medicinal qualities of the trees in a less effort and less investment. Hence, it can be said that the people should preserve the trees and plants for the welfare of the society.

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CHINNACCHĀYĀ : A COLLECTION OF MODERN SHORT STORIES IN SANSKRIT

Preeti Pujara*

Stories have attracted human beings for centuries. They have probably begun the day when human beings have started speaking and hearing. Sanskrit story writing has its roots in ancient texts of yesteryears. Vedas and Upaniṣadas have some imprints of story writing. Although *Ṛgveda* primarily deals with the prayers offered to various deities during *yajña*, we can find references of stories in some dialogues. The discovery of fire by the sage Aṅgirasa is delineated in the form of a story. The description of war described in *Dāśarājñasūkta*, the dialogues of Yama-Yamī and Purūravā-Urvaśī have the seeds of story forms. Indra's exploits of saving cows from the jaws of the demons like Ari and Bala is depicted again in the story form in the second *maṇḍala* of *Ṛgveda.*

यो हत्वा हिमरिणात्सप्तसिन्धून् । यो गा उदाजदपधा बलस्य ।।[1]

In comparison to Vedas, the short story writing seems to have developed more in the texts of *Upaniṣads*, *Brāhmaṇas*, and *Āraṇyakas*. The narratives of *Udgitha- śwānākhyāna* in *Chāndogya upaniṣad*, the description of *Hariścandropākhyāna* in *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* and *Śākuntalopākhyāna* in the *Mahābhārata* have elements of short story writing. The collection of *Baudha Jātaka kathā* which is written in 380 AD contains 500 stories. Thus, short story writing did flourish in the field of ancient Indian creative writing.

The middle age marked the beginning of the golden age of Sanskrit story writing. There were moral stories, folk stories and other popular stories written in large numbers. The more admired stories of *Pañcatantra*, *Hitopadeśa* and *Bṛhatkathā* became the rage during this period. Other popular stories were *Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā*, *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśikā*, story of *Śālivāhana* and *Bhojaprabandha*. The stories from *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* have a universal appeal and regaled the readers cutting across all the barriers. These collections of stories are renowned for their moral principles, political wisdom, and practical approach. These insightful fables have a special place especially among the children whose innocent world is filled with their value education.

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[1] Ṛgveda : 2.12.3

Sanskrit has a rich tradition of stories which has attracted the generations of readers across the world for many centuries. The noteworthy contribution also came from Paṇḍitā Kshama Rao, Bhagwati Prasad, Jagabandhu Paṇḍit, Narayana Balkrishna and Ramasharana Shastri. Appasastri Rasivadekara has contributed immensely to the development of modern Sanskrit story writing by his prolific output in the field of story writing. It must be noted that these scholars have offered us more of translation work than original texts. Many Bengali writers like Jaichandra Siddhanta Bhusana, Nandalal Sharma, Upendranath Sen also contributed to the development of Sanskrit story writing by publishing numerous stories.

Modern Sanskrit story writing in the late twentieth century took a new turn and made a radical departure from the old traditional story writing which was moralistic and didactic. The chief proponents of these ultra modern Sanskrit story writing are Keshab Chandra Dash, Rajendra Mishra, Radhavallabh Tripathi, Nagraj Rao, Prashasyamitra Shastri, Banamali Biswal, Rabindrakumar Panda and many more. The modern writers looked for the day to day issues of contemporary society. They dwelt on the present day topics like female foeticide, brain drain, terrorism, exploitation, psycho analysis. These themes are skillfully woven in their stories. Their stories are truly short stories in the sense that they are short in size, but big on modern themes. They touched the core of the day to day problems. " The themes and extents of the short stories being written in Sanskrit today have been changed tremendously from the style opted in the *Pañcatantra* period. From the last two decades of the twentieth century we observe that the writers of contemporary Sanskrit are found crazy to apply and introduce each and every trend that is available in world literature."[2]

The word *kathā* is used in Vedas, Upaniṣads and other Sanskrit scriptures. Many Sanskrit scholars and rhetoricians have defined and referred to the word *kathā*. Vishvanatha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* defines the word *kathā* as follows:

कथायां सरसं वस्तु गद्यैरेव विनिर्मितम् ।
क्वचिदत्र भवेदार्या क्वचिद् वक्त्रापवक्त्रके ।
आदौ पद्यैर्नमस्कारः खलादेर्वृतकीर्तनम् ।।[3]

The plot of the story should be written in prose only and there should be the usage of meters like *āryā*, *vaktra* and *aparavaktra*. According to *Ācārya* Hemacandra *kathā* has a vast field and the hero of the *kathā* is *dhīra* and *śānta*. Again the author has liberty to write a story in any language irrespective of prose or poetry.

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2. Biswal, Banamali, Preface, *Ādhunika Kathāyen : Sthiti Aur Pravṛtti*, Allahabad, Padmaja Prakashan, 2011
3. Shastri, Krishnamohan, *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Vishvanatha, Varanasi, Chaukhamba Sanskrit Sansthan. वि.सं.२०४१

धीरशान्तनायकः गद्येन पद्येन वा सर्वभाषा कथा ।।[4]

V.S. Apte has defined the word *kathā* as-

प्रबन्धकल्पना स्तोकं सत्यं प्राज्ञाः कथा विदुः ।।[5]

In *Manusmṛti* the word *kathā* is used in the sense of spiritual discourse.

यद्रोचते विप्रेभ्यस्तत्तद्दधादमत्सरः ।
ब्रह्मोघाश्च कथाः कुर्यात्पितॄणामेतदीप्सितम् ।।[6]

In this way many authors and scholars of Sanskrit have defined or referred to the word *kathā* in different senses. There is no certain definition of *kathā* but generally all the scholars have used the word *kathā* in the sense of event, description or an incident.

A short story is rightly defined as 'A brief prose tale,' as Edgar Allan Poe labelled it. This work of narrative fiction may contain description, dialogue and commentary, but usually plot functions as the engine driving the art. The best short stories, according to Poe, seek to achieve a single major, unified impact.[7]

Rabindrakumar Panda, the writer under study is a young creative talent who has explored different genres of creative writing with great felicity. The writer is gifted with a rare creative fervor which is reflected in a number of anthologies of stories and poems. He is an extraordinary talent who is at ease in both forms of writing whether it is prose or poetry in his own right. He is equally adept at critical writing with almost hundred research articles and many more books to his credit. He has also contributed to the translation of many original texts of Sanskrit like Bhartṛhari's *Śatakakāvyas* etc.

Prof. Rabindrakumar Panda stands out as a resourceful and ingenious writer with the subtle understanding of art of writing. What is striking in his writing is his firm grip over Sanskrit language which reproduces different shades of meaning with great exactness. It reminds us of the line. "गद्यं कवीनां निकषं वदन्ति ।"

"A writer's true ability is put to test when he writes in prose."

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[4] *Kāvyānuśāsana of Hemachandracharya*, Botad, Ishwardas Mulchand Publication, Saurashtra.

[5] Apte, V.S. The *Students' Hindi Sanskrit Dictionary*, Delhi, Nag Publishers. Ganivar Panyasa Sushilvijay, वि.सं.२०१३ (1997),

[6] Shastri, Rakesh, *Manusmṛti with Sanskrit Commentary & Hindi Translation*, Vol. I, Vidyanidhi Prakashan, Delhi, 2008

[7] http://web.cn.edu/kwheeler/lit-terms-S.html

What is remarkable in Panda's prose writing is a synthesis of traditional and modern values. The book under study "*Chinnacchāyā*"[8] is a classic example of his creative brilliance. "*Chinnacchāyā*" is a collection of twenty short stories dealing with the whole gamut o issues from gender bias to terrorism. Today's burning problems like widow-remarriage, the evil of poverty, and even the agony of lonely parents become the major themes of hi stories. His stories not only deal with social and economic problems but also lay the inne layers of reality from time to time. Many well-known scholars of Sanskrit glorify mythologica figures in their writings. Through his story writing Dr. Panda wishes to demonstrate tha Sanskrit language can also be better employed to treat modern issues of everyday life wit contemporary idiom. Dr. Harshdev Madhav has rightly observed:

"डॉ. रवीन्द्रकुमारस्य लेखनी यशस्विनी नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी वर्तते । लघुकथाक्षेत्रे तस्य प्रदानं सीमाचिह्न भविष्यति ।"[9]

Most of his stories revolve around female characters. They take the centre stage wit their inner strength in all his stories. His stories depict a wide variety of female characters Woman as a wife, as a beloved, a widow, and even as a grandma dominate his story line These characters are suppressed in the conventional present day society, but they hav an urge to come out from their narrow world. The '*Swarṇapiñjaram*' is the story of young girl who has a yearning for higher study, but was married off a rich man agains her wishes and she finally submits to a life of house wife without any significance. Thi story deals with the problems of female education. *Dagdhacandrikā* is a story of gang rap victim which mirrors the present day reality. It is a self damning account of Vimala wh was brutally raped and was afraid to report her case to the police. She was scared o society and resigned to the fate of a victim. The story tells us how the rape victim i treated and terrorized by officials and unsympathetic society. The powerful portrait o Vimala's agony and anguish is heartrending.

"अहं कलङ्किता । मम सर्वस्वं नष्टम् । मम चरित्रे लाञ्छनमिदं चिरं स्थास्यति । विना दोषं दूषणमिदं म सहाजीवनं चलिष्यति । चेतो न चेतति । न मनः कामयते क्षणमपि जीवितुम् । अधुना प्राणा निर्गच्छेयुश्चेत् त भवेच्छान्तिः ।" (*Chinnacchāyā*, p.35).

The author criticizes the society's apathetic attitude towards the victim of sexual violenc The character of Nandini in '*Narapaśuḥ*' stands out as a Woman of substance. She wa abandoned by her husband but fights the hard times with great dignity. Her husband fal in love with her own sister and elopes with her. Nandini's whole world turns upside dow but Nandini is a fighter. She decides to live without him, brings up her children without his support. She proves that woman is not the slave of men, but has a will to fight against injustice. Nandini proves that women are not dependent on men for their existence.

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[8] Panda, Rabindrakumar, *Chinnacchāyā*, Arvachina Sanskrit Sahityaparishad, Baroda, 2005

[9] Madhav, Harshdev, Preface-Chinnacchāyā, Arvachina Sanskrit Sahityaparishad, Baroda, 2005, p.5

“यद् भवतु मया निश्चयः कृतः । गृहत्यागं करिष्यामि । पतित्यागं करिष्यामि । एकदा सर्वं विहाय निजमार्गे प्रस्थिता अभवम् । अहं तं विस्मृतवती यथा व्याधिग्रस्तो विस्मरति शरीरवेदनाम् ।” (*Chinnacchāyā* p.35).

Yamini in *Jañjālajālam* is a woman with high aspirations. Her story is a typical story of millions of housewives in India who sacrifice their personal ambition for the sake of family. She plays different roles of devoted wife, mother and daughter in law with great aplomb. Yamini wants to study, but she is neck deep in routine life and has no time for herself. She tries utmost to fulfill everybody's expectations smothering her own wishes. Sulakshana in *Vishwasa* is a female character who suffers from the predicament of infertility. She was blamed for not bearing the child, but in reality her husband was the reason for their childlessness. She had to bear the taunts and bards of her mother-in-law without any faults. The story powerfully portrays the plight of a woman in the male dominated society.

There are also negative female characters described in his stories. Satyavati in *Śwetapadmam* is truthful for the namesake only, she was full of deceit, treachery and lies. She believes in doublespeak and duplicity and pretends to be loving and caring, but she used to take undue advantage of people. In *Reṇugṛham*, Jayalakshmi was passing through financial hardship and she resorted to prostitution for supporting her family. *Mahāraṇyam* describes the problem of child marriage. The female protagonist in this story was married to an old man when she was just five and lead the life of a widow throughout her life without seeing the face of her husband. There are stories which portray delicate feelings. His story *Tāmbūlam* describes the relationship between Grandma and grandson.

We can say that the author is a close student of human emotions and it is in full display when he describes cross currents of various relationships-husband-wife, son-mother, maid servant-mistress, grandma-grandson, lover-beloved in his stories. There are also variety of emotion and feelings vividly described in his story. In *Praṇayapīyuṣam* emotion of love is portrayed in the author's relationship with Sumi. The intense feeling of sorrow is brought to light in *Chinnacchāyā* when Madhurika loses her husband. The feeling of loneliness caused by retirement is expressed in the experience of Radheshyambabu in *Dhūlidhūma*. The dread of terrorism is articulated in the story *Bhayabhūta* in Kamla's character.

Some of his stories have metaphysical leanings. *Muktimārga*, for example denotes the writer's philosophy of life. Such stories lack the fluent movement and at times become dull. The title story *Chinnacchāyā* is a graphic account of happy couple Mahendra and

Madhurika who lead a fulfilling life with usual blissful moments of matrimony. Sudden their dreams were crushed when Mahendra was swept away by the giant waves of se All her happiness and dreams were shattered in a fleeting moment. Madhurika wa inconsolable.

"इच्छति मधुरिका जीवनं यातु । त्वरितं नश्यतु प्राणपिञ्जरम् । यस्मिन् जीवने सुखं नास्ति तस्य किं प्रयोजनम् यस्मिन् जीवने स्वप्नो नास्ति तस्य किं प्रयोजनम्? सौरभविहीनं जीवनपुष्पं कस्य लाभाय? माधुर्यहीना यौवनश्र कस्योपकाराय? जलहीना स्रोतस्विनी कस्य तृषां निवारयिष्यति?" (*Chinnacchāyā* p.64)

All the stories of Dr. Panda focus on day to day problems of our society. The auth treats the problems head on and presents how these problems shape the destiny of h characters. All the stories have serious undertones and mirror the present day reality o our society. There are strong elements of tragedy. Grief is the constant motif in many o his stories. *Chinnacchāyā* describes the sorrows of a wife whose husband dies in flood His story *Snehasūtram* describes the grief of parents whose only son went to the city fo higher education and got married to the girl of his choice. The grief stricken Vimala i *Dagdhacandrikā* suffers in a male dominated society. What is perhaps lacking is cheerfulnes and comic elements. It seems that the author has special affinity with serious and sa world of today. It also becomes obvious that the author holds women with highest regar and gives them the pride of place in his various stories. Women characters are, albe subdued and victims of exploitation.

Many of his stories have strong didactic elements. It is rightly said;

"कथाकारः पीडितानां दलितानां शोषितानां पक्षे एव अस्ति । बह्वीनां कथानां शीर्षकाः एव ज्ञापयन्ति यत् मानवीयदुःखस्य सामाजिकावमूल्यायनस्य शिक्षासंस्कृतिरीतिनीतिनामवक्षयस्य वर्णनानि अत्र सन्ति ।"[10]

The writer acts as a social reformer in some of his stories. His characters take a mor stand and speak against the ills of society like prostitution, terrorism, sexual exploitatio poverty and superstition. Vimala's outbursts in *Dagdhacandrikā* bring out the writer intention to correct wrongs of society.

"अधुना नाबला नारी । न सा राक्षसानां भोगवस्तु । न साऽसभ्यानां क्रीडनकम् । न साऽसंस्कृतानां सम्भोगविप । न सा कामातुराणां कल्पवल्ली......तस्या जन्म नात्र पशूनां पातकप्रक्षालनाय । पामराणां प्रमोदविभूतये दुर्गामाता देशस्यास्य नारीणामादर्शः । महिषासुराणां कृते दुर्गाऽत्यावश्यकी । सहनं दुर्बलतायाः निदर्शनम् । अपराधि कृते दण्डः प्रदेयः । अधमानां दमनमावश्यकम् ।" (*Chinnacchāyā* p.34)

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[10] *Lokabhāṣā Suśrī*, Aug.-Sept. 5-10 Lokabhasa Pracara Samiti, Puri, Orissa

The writer takes the cause of widow marriage in the story of *Praṇayapīyuṣam*. The marriage of Vishwambhara with Sumi, the widow is a classic example of the writer's stand as a social reformer. Widows have right to lead the life of matrimony it is strongly supported by the author in the following lines:

''समाजस्य कपोलकल्पितान्धपरम्परायाः शरव्यास्त्वं न भव । सर्वं सम्भवमस्ति । सर्वं समुचितमस्ति । जीवितुमधिकारः सर्वेषामस्ति समाजे । तवापि.....नियमाः सुखाय निर्मिताः । न कस्य दुःखाय ।'' (*Chinnacchāyā* p.14)

The titles of all his stories are apt and really striking. They reflect the central theme of the story with great precision. The writer belives in the popular idiom; 'variety is the spice of life'. There is a variety of characters, and even the variety of themes. What is special is his skillfull workmanship with good style, chaste language and lively dialogues. The language is free from long compound words and difficult grammatical forms. The language is easy to understand and also engaging. We can see *prasāda* and *mādhurya guṇas* in the language of his stories. *Vaidarbhī* style is used by the author which is defined by *Daṇḍīn* as follows:

श्लेषः प्रसादः समता माधुर्यं सुकुमारता ।
अर्थव्यक्तिरुदारत्वमोजःकान्तिसमाधयः ॥[11]

In the words of Dr. Harshdev Madhava,

''शैली कथाप्रवाहं सृजति सारल्येन, प्रसादगुणेन बिम्बैः सह । चिन्तनं वाग्गर्भे सततं स्पन्दते । इदमेव रचनाकारस्य प्रावीण्यम् । सर्वत्र प्रासादिकता वर्तमानाऽपि विचाराणां गतिः प्रशंसार्हा । संवादानां कौशल्यं कथासु शोभास्पदम् । अलङ्काराणां समुचितोपयोगेन शैली प्रसन्नकरा ।''[12]

The writer's poetic sensibility becomes obvious even in his stories. There is an uninterrupted flow of ideas taking the story forward. There is an elegance of a poetry in his prose.

''स्मितासीत् मधुकरस्य पत्नी....तस्य हृदयवनस्य चन्दनम् । तस्य मन्दिरस्य धनम् । तस्य नयनस्य स्वप्नः । तस्य स्वप्नस्य तेजोमहालयः । तस्य आशायाः कल्पलता । तस्य विचारस्य वनभूमिः ।'' (*Chinnacchāyā* p.48).

''तदनु विलुप्यते बन्धनम् । किंशुकायते चन्दनम् । शुष्कायते जीवनम् । परमेश्वरायते धनम् । श्रीहीनं भवति वनम् । विषमयं भवति विलपनम् । तदनु नाटकं समाप्तम् ।'' (*Chinnacchāyā* pp.72-73).

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11. Gupt, Dharmendrakumar, *Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin*, Bharat Bharati Prakashan, Delhi, 1973

12. Madhav, Harshdev *Op.cit* p.5

When you read the story, you can visualize the whole event before your eyes. He has abundantly used the figures of speech like simile, metaphor, alliteration etc.

Simile- ''किन्तु पुत्रप्रेम्णि पितुश्चित्तमतीव चञ्चलम् । चक्रमिव तच्चलति । पवन इव प्रधावति । पिशाच इव सर्वमाक्रमति । विधुदिव सर्वत्र संक्रमति । अन्ध इव घनान्धकारे भ्रमति । प्रवाह इव धावति ।'' (*Chinnacchāyā* p.73).

Metaphor- ''सा घटना किन्तु चक्रवद् भ्रमति स्म मनसि । आक्रमणस्य भयङ्करदृश्यं यथाऽनृत्यत् तस्य रोमकूपेषु । व्यथावैशाखस्य रौद्रप्रभञ्जनो दलति स्म तां वनवल्लरीमसहायाम् । क्रोधस्य कालनलो ज्वलति स्म हृदयप्रान्तरे तस्या ।'' (*Chinnacchāyā* p.33).

Alliteration- ''कथं विलम्बो वेतालानां विनाशाय । शोषकानां शोषणाय । भक्षकानां भक्षणाय । दर्पिष्ठानां दलनाय । पापिष्ठानां दमनाय । अशिष्टानां संहाराय । मारकानां मारणाय । दानवानामुन्मूलनाय । चण्डानां चर्वणाय.....शिष्टानां श्रमाय ।'' (*Chinnacchāyā* p.83).

There are many idioms and proverbs used in his prose. The author has used the lexis from other languages like chocolates, police, cycle, circus, tuition making his stories reader friendly. In some of his stories the influence of *Uḍiyā* language becomes obvious as Orissa is his native land. He has quoted *ślokas* and *subhāṣitas* from religious texts like the *Bhagavad Gītā, Aitareyabrāhmaṇa, Nītiśatakam* etc.

१ येषां न विद्या न तपो न दानं, न चापि शीलं न गुणो न धर्मः ।
ते मृत्युलोके भुवि भारभूता, मनुष्यरूपेण मृगाश्चरन्ति ।। १ ।। (*Chinnacchāyā*, p.90).

२ आहारनिद्राभयमैथुनञ्च सामान्यमेतत् पशुभिर्नराणाम् ।
धर्मोऽपि तेषामधिको विशेषो धर्मेण हीनाः पशुभिः समानाः ।। २ ।। (*Chinnacchāyā*, p.94).

३ परस्परं भावयन्तः श्रेयः परमवाप्स्यथ ।। ३ ।। (*Chinnacchāyā*, p.115).

४ ऋणमस्मिन् संनयत्यममृतत्वं च गच्छति ।
पिता पुत्रस्य जातस्य पश्येच्चेज्जीवतो मुखम् ।। ४ ।।

५ यावन्तः पृथिव्यां भोगा यावन्तो जातवेदसि ।
यावन्तो अप्सु प्राणिनां भूयान् पुत्रे पितुस्ततः ।। ५ ।।

६ अन्नं ह प्राणः शरणं ह वासो रूपं हिरण्यं पशवो विवाहाः ।
सखा ह जाया कृपणं दुहिता ज्योतिर्ह पुत्रः परमे व्योमन् ।। ६ ।।

७ शशत्पुत्रेण पितरोऽन्यायन् बहुलं तमः ।
आत्मा हि यज्ञ आत्मनः स इरावत्यतितारिणी ।। ७ ।। (*Chinnacchāyā*, p.77).

This shows writer's scholarship and also displays his indepth knowledge of Indian scriptures. The narration is richly embellished with many colourful descriptions.

Prof. Rabindrakumar Panda is a brilliant storyteller who treats various themes with great lucidity and writes in contemporary style. Creative writing in Sanskrit is not flourishing as it is expected, but the writings of Prof. Panda reassure us that there is still some hope and it is a real treat to the lovers of this ancient language.

લેખકોને :

૧. પાનની એક જ બાજુએ, ટાઈપ અથવા કોમ્પ્યુટરમાં તૈયાર કરેલા અને એ શક્ય ન હોય તો શાહીથી સુવાચ્ય અક્ષરે લખેલા લેખો મોકલવા. ટાઈપ/કોમ્પ્યુટર નકલમાં ભૂલોને સુધાર્યા પછી જ લેખ મોકલવો. ગૂજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના જોડણીકોશ પ્રમાણે જોડણી રાખવી આવશ્યક છે. લેખની મૂળ પ્રત જ મોકલવી. લેખની કાર્બન નકલ મોકલો ત્યારે તે અંગેનું સ્પષ્ટ કારણ જણાવવું.

૨. લેખમાં અવતરણો, અન્ય વિદ્વાનોનાં મંતવ્યો ટાંકવામાં આવે તો તે અંગેનો સંદર્ભ પૂરેપૂરી વિગત સાથે આપવો અનિવાર્ય છે. પાદટીપમાં એ સંદર્ભની વિગત આપતાં લેખક અથવા સંપાદક/સંશોધક (અટક પહેલી), ગ્રંથ, પ્રકાશક, પ્રકાશનવર્ષ, આવૃત્તિ, પૃષ્ઠ એ ક્રમ જાળવવો જરૂરી છે.

૩. 'સ્વાધ્યાય'માં છપાયેલ સર્વ લેખોનો કોપીરાઈટ પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામંદિર, મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ યુનિવર્સિટી, વડોદરા હસ્તક છે. લેખકે અથવા અન્ય કોઈએ લેખમાંનો કોઈ અંશ લેખિત પરવાનગી વગર પુનર્મુદ્રિત કરવો નહીં.

૪. સંક્ષેપશબ્દો પ્રયોજતા પહેલાં એ શબ્દો અન્ય સ્થાને પૂરેપૂરા પ્રયોજેલા હોવા જોઈએ.

૫. પાદટીપોનો ક્રમ સળંગ રાખી જે તે પૃષ્ઠ ઉપર તે તે પાદટીપોનો નિર્દેશ જરૂરી છે.

સ્વાધ્યાય

સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક

સંપાદક : **શ્વેતા પ્રજાપતિ**

વર્ષમાં ચાર અંક બહાર પડે છે – વસંતપંચમી અંક, અક્ષયતૃતીયા અંક, જન્માષ્ટમી અંક અને દીપોત્સવી અંક

લવાજમ :

- ભારતમાં .... રૂા. ૧૫૦.૦૦ (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)
- પરદેશમાં .... યુનાઈટેડ સ્ટેટ્સ ઓફ અમેરિકા માટે ...... ૫૦.૦૦ ડૉલર વાર્ષિક (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)

આખા વર્ષના ગ્રાહકો લવાજમના વર્ષની શરૂઆતથી જ નોંધવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ અગાઉથી સ્વીકારવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ મોકલતી વખતે કયા ગ્રંથ માટે લવાજમ મોકલ્યું છે તે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવવું. લવાજમવર્ષ જાન્યુઆરીથી ડિસેમ્બર સુધીનું ગણાય છે, જે આ સરનામે મોકલવું.

નિયામકશ્રી, પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામંદિર,
મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય,
રાજમહેલ દરવાજા પાસે, રાજમહેલ રોડ,
વડોદરા - ૩૯૦ ૦૦૧.
ફોન નં: ૦૨૬૫-૨૪૨૫૧૨૧

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HERITAGE IN INDIA: IDENTITY CRISIS ONCE AGAIN[+]

K. Paddayya[•]

Introduction

I began my first lecture with a reference to the publication of Edward Said's book *Orientalism* in 1978 and how it led to a major stir in the historiography of Oriental studies. About two decades later a second major stir was created - this time in the world cultural studies. This arose with the publication of Samuel Huntington's book *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* in 1996. Huntington clarifies that his book is about political relations and does not belong to the realm of social studies. He divides modern world into eight major zones on the basis of cultural and religious identities, viz. Western, Latin American, African, Islamic, Sinic, Hindu, Buddhist and Japanese civilizations, and identifies a situation of unending clash among these. In his own words: "The central theme of this book is that culture and cultural identities, which at the broadest level are civilization identities, are shaping the patterns of cohesion, disintegration, and conflict in the post-Cold War world..." (Huntington 1996: 20).

How do we then put up with this conflict-ridden world? Huntington put forward three rules for avoiding intercivilizational conflicts: a) major states refraining from intervention in the conflicts in other civilizations; b) major states making joint efforts to contain conflicts between groups within their own civilizations; and c) striving for peace in a multicivilizational world by locating or identifying values, institutions and practices common to all peoples (Huntington 1996: 312-321).

Unsurprisingly, Huntington's book generated much worldwide debate in both academic and public domains. Not the least important, his bracketing of the Indian zone under the label Hindu civilization warmed up the feelings of certain Hindu groups just as it enraged some others of the Indian society. Huntington's views serve as a good starting point and, in fact, are of direct relevance to our topic of identity crisis in India at two levels. First, the

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[+] Lecture delivered under the auspicies of Late Dr. U.P. Shah Memorial Lecture Series No. 15 on 17th March, 2014.

interrelated criteria of religion and culture used by Huntington for grouping or designating world civilizations hold good in the case of India too. These are not merely the distinguishing features or markers of Indian identity but clearly bear the stamp of temporality covering a few millennia. Secondly, Huntington's designation of the Indian zone as the base of a Hindu civilization may be true in terms of the overwhelming number of people professing the Hindu faith in its widest sense but obliterates the tremendous and millennia-long ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity that exists within the area.

It is precisely this diversity which has often led to situations of strife and discord in the past. Currently we seem to be facing one such situation. This is revealed by a series of conflicting and intriguing statements that have appeared in both public and academic domains.

- - *The Battle for Ancient India: An Essay in the Socio-Politics of Indian Archaeology.* Title of Dilip Chakrabarti's book published from New Delhi in 2009.

- - We will undo the Marxist twists imparted to historical scholarship in India. We will Indianize history writing and establish the historicity of events described in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*. Professor Y. Sudershan Rao, after taking charge as the Chairman of Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR), New Delhi.

- - It would seem that the ICHR may now turn the clock back in focusing on simple stories being accurate history. Romila Thapar, commenting on Y. Sudershan Rao's revised goals set for the ICHR. *India Today,* dated 25 July 2014.

- - It is Nehru rather than Gandhi who should have been targeted by Godse. Statement in a Malayalam magazine controlled by the RSS.

- - The human-animal body of Ganeśa and Karṇa's birth bear testimony to knowledge of plastic surgery and genetic science in ancient India. Prime Minister Narendra Modi while inaugurating a super-speciality hospital in Mumbai in October 2014.

- - At a point of time, the entire world was Hindu. There were 700 crore Hindus. VHP leader Praveen Togadia at the Virat Hindu Sammelan in Mumbai. *Indian Express,* dated 15 December 2014.

- - Every child is born a Muslim but his parents convert him to other religions. Islam was the real home of all religions in the world. Statement of Asaduddin Owaisi, leader of Majlis-e Ittehadul Muslimeen made in Hyderabad. *Asian Age,* dated 5 January 2015.

- - *Aap ko tay karna hai ki Dilli mein sarkar Ramzadoon ki banegi ya haramzadoon ki* Statement of Union Minister Sadhvi Niranjan Jyoti at an election rally in Delhi. *Indian Express,* dated 1 December 2014.

- - The ancestors of lower classes and tribal groups were the original inhabitants of India

Jitan Ram Manjhi, former Chief Minister of Bihar, while expressing anger over the act of priests of a Hindu temple in getting it 'purified' by washing after his visit.

- - India's genius lies in its ability to absorb and encompass many cultures with whom it has come in contact. At the same time it has allowed these cultures to flourish as distinctive entities based on the principle of unity in diversity... This openness to other cultures, while being firmly stuck to our own, is the only antidote to the doctrine of clash of civilizations. Sushma Swaraj, Minister of External Affairs, speaking at the concluding session of India Ideas Conclave held by India Foundation at Utorda in Goa. *Indian Express,* dated 22 December 2014.

These and many other statements of similar nature that have started appearing in recent times concern conflicting perceptions of identity centering around heritage. Right from the beginning of the nineteenth century many colonial and Indian writers have commented upon the indelible imprint made by the past on the Indian mind. As it generally happens in the case of societies with a long history, their cultural ensembles assume the form of mosaics resulting from the movement of men and ideas at intra-, inter- and extra-regional levels and spread over long periods of time and from mutually reinforcing relationships. In such situations it is a difficult task to trace identities to their roots, but, arising from or driven by narrow or partisan interests, certain individuals or groups do make contrived efforts to locate these identities in exclusionary terms. And situations involving crisis of identity in terms of roots in the past have arisen repeatedly in ancient, medieval and modern periods of Indian history, of which partition of the country in 1947 is a well-known example.

The conflicting views referred to above show that we are in the throes of yet another situation of identity crisis. Such situations oblige all students of the past as well as well-wishers of the society to sit back and reflect upon various aspects of the issue and suggest ways of wading through the troubled waters. In my view there are some aspects of the past which need to be clarified as part of this introspection. These clarifications then need to be placed before the society at large in particular, for the simple but unassailable reason that it is after all the people's past that we are studying and therefore the society not only needs to be briefed about the main results of our studies but should be left with the freedom to arrive at its own decisions about the whats, whys and hows of our studies of the past. Indeed there is a need to socialize and humanize these studies. It is pertinent to recall here that in a famous student's oration delivered at the University of Oxford in 1773, William Jones exhorted the academic community about the social relevance of learning in these ringing words; "...let us not so far deceive ourselves, as to imagine, that Learning without Virtue has any merit, though Virtue without Learning may justly claim the highest encomium; let us remember that the sole purpose and tendency of human knowledge is to make us serviceable to our friend country and all mankind; that speculation is only commendable, as far as it may supply with Wisdom and Valour in active life, and that all arts, literature, science cease to laudabl as soon as they cease to be beneficial'' (Jones 1807:13).

The issues that call for immediate attention are as follows: a) broadening the scope studies of the past beyond conventional history and emphasizing the composite nature of t country's heritage; b) place of the past in the Indian mind and need for sociological studies its present-day use; and c) improvements in public education about the past. Indeed, a ne has arisen for the academics to step out from their ivory towers and see themselves not masters or owners of the past but, as enjoined by Socrates long ago, as mid-wives mediati between the past and its inheritors in the present. In other words, situations of identity cri necessitate efforts to bring down or unseat for a while studies of the past from the form high-pedestal academic level and then socialize these by highlighting their intrinsic humanis content and intent. For this purpose we shall wherever necessary make use of the insigh provided by non-specialist writings about the past. Because these arose from a genui desire and curiosity to know about the country's past and use these insights to understand t present and charter the future, Nehru's writings deserve a special place.

The Past as Heritage and its Composite Character

In India the study of the past is often regarded as synonymous with history. There is need to broaden the scope of the study of the past beyond the confines of history. It desirable to replace history with inheritance or heritage. There are two reasons for thi First, history and its Indian counterpart *Itihāsa* convey a sense of spatio-temporal distan from the present, implying disjunction between ''then'' and ''now'' events and situatio Whereas, as in China, the past is not merely an object of academic interest but a livi phenomenon in their country; it forms an inseparable part of the present. This has be pointed out by many Western and Indian writers right from the beginning of the ninetee century. For example, Walter Fairservis, Jr. (1971: 1) cautioned fellow American archaeolog that ''... in the subcontinent we are in the midst of an ancient civilization which is still livi still vital, still of an importance to our world beyond price''. Heritage or inheritance immedia evoke feelings of closeness and sentimental attachment to the past.

Secondly, history in its conventional sense rests on written sources and is a record major happenings and events. Heritage is much more comprehensive in its coverage, in t as well as subject matter. Its substantive or hard component includes a vast range of mate remains comprising both art historical and utilitarian objects. Further, over and above writ documents, heritage also includes - this is particularly true of India - a soft or invisi component made up of myths, legends, beliefs, cosmologies, etc.

In this context it is also good to recall that the world over history writing has in recent times experienced a broader shift going beyond the well-known linguistic turn. As pointed by Toews (1997: 236, 248), this shift involves "... not only the academy, its disciplines and disciplinary courses; but the problems of cultural or social production of historical consciousness outside the academy... (it) recognizes that the process of historical production is a diverse array of social and cultural processes that are not confined to the productions of professional historians, but take place in various kinds of commercial and public projects like theme parks, museums, exhibitions, festivals, historical reconstructions, the popular culture of movies and music and civic rituals.... The pretentiousness of an academic professionalism that claims monopoly in the manufacture of product that must somehow be brought to an ignorant or resistant consumer is unveiled as a defensive and debilitating posture..." Let me cite one more example illustrating this great shift. In his book *Theatres of Memory* (2012) Raphael Samuel exposes the insular character of historical studies and expresses grave doubts about their high epistemological posture. He too argues strongly in favour of framing or taking history beyond archives and monograph-writing and encompassing the diverse ways in which human memory operates and even shapes the social world. He makes a powerful case for giving due place to biographical accounts of various kinds, antiquarian pursuits including photo- and stamp-collections, local histories, oral traditions, etc. Social memory and its reflection in various performative acts are the central theme of Paul Connerton's book *How Societies Remember* (1989). He illustrates his point of view by drawing upon episodes from the French Revolution and Nazism in Germany.

The above observations about the need for widening the scope of historical research assume significance in the context of ongoing debates between positivist and traditionalist groups of scholars about the relative importance of the soft component of source material. The second important aspect about the past that merits attention concerns its composite structure. It is the lack of appreciation or insufficient understanding or willful rejection of this aspect which has in the past led to identity crises. The present identity crisis, as implied by the various pronouncements cited at the beginning, is another instance. This aspect of our heritage has also been commented upon by many specialists, non-specialist writers and others, the latest being the statement of Sushma Swaraj quoted earlier. Among all these I find the observations of Jawaharlal Nehru the most elaborate and very appropriate and therefore deserve to be noted at some length.

Pandit Nehru is one of the nationalist leaders who travelled extensively and interacted with rural and urban groups all over the country during the 1920s and 1930s as part of the process of creating national awakening about foreign rule. Coupling the various experiences he had obtained during these tours with his extensive readings, Nehru wrote his famous book

The Discovery of India during a period of five months marking the end of his imprisonment in Ahmednagar jail between 1942 and 1945. He also expressed his views about history of India in several other writings, which have been brought together in two volumes by S. Gopal and Uma Iyengar under the title *The Essential Writings of Jawaharlal Nehru* (Nehru 2003a, b). While in his earlier writings *Letters from a Father to his Daughter* (1928) and *Glimpses of World History* (1936) he was playing the role of a history teacher by proxy, *The Discovery of India* and these other writings are teach-yourself exercises about one's country and its people and their past. These writings bring out the lesser known dimensions of Nehru's personality - as a historian, as a philosopher, and as an anthropologist on his own. In the first chapter of *The Discovery of India* Nehru makes some general observations, of which the following are very striking and relevant to the theme of our lecture (1960: 1-24).

Nehru clarifies that he came to history not as a specialist nor was he equipped as one. He was not interested in dates and facts but he considered history as a living process where the present is seen as a sequel of the past and as cause of the future. Employing this equation with reference to India, he states that "The roots of the present lay in the past and so I made voyages of discovery into the past, ever seeking a clue in it to the understanding of the present. ...The past oppresses or fills me sometimes with its warmth when it touches on the present and becomes as it were an aspect of that living present. If it does not do so, then it is cold, barren, lifeless and uninteresting'' (Nehru 1960: 9, 22). Thanks to his extensive travel across the length and breadth of the country and his wide readings, Nehru obtained many insights into or, what he calls, discoveries about the life of people, their heritage and psyche.

First, his views about the composite or synthetic nature of the country's heritage. He anticipated the opinion of Sushma Swaraj seventy-five years ago and made elaborate comments on this topic in *The Discovery of India*. Also some sections of the volume *The Essential Writings of Jawaharlal Nehru* are devoted to this theme (Nehru 2003a: 3-189). In his Foreword to Ramdhari Singh Dinkar's book *Sanskṛti ke Cār Adhyāya* published in 1955, he makes an elaborate reference to the pluralistic fabric of India. He wrote: "... If I look at India, I find ...the gradual growth of a composite culture of the Indian people. The origins of this culture may be traced back on the one hand to the pre-Aryan period, the civilization of Mohenjodaro, etc. and the great Dravidian civilization. On the other hand, it received a powerful impress from the Aryans who came to India from Central Asia. Subsequently, it was influenced by repeated incursions from the northwest and later by the people who came across the seas from the West. Thus this national culture gradually grew and took shape. It had a remarkable capacity for synthesis and of absorbing new elements...'' (Nehru 2003a: 127).

In the section called 'Development of a Common Culture' included in *The Discovery of India,* Nehru pointed out how a common culture developed in India between Hindus and Muslims subsequent to the entry of Islam. In his own words: "Partly because of the great majority of Moslems in India were converts from Hinduism, partly because of long contact, Hindus and Moslems in India developed numerous common traits, habits, ways of living and artistic habits, especially in northern India - in music, painting, architecture, food, clothes and common traditions. They lived together peacefully as one people, joined each other's festivals and celebrations, spoke the same language, lived in more or less the same way, and faced identical economic problems... They developed a highly intricate and sophisticated common culture..." (Nehru 1960: 264-5).

Using figurative language, Nehru further wrote that Indian culture "was like some ancient palimpsest on which layer upon layer of thought and reverie had been inscribed, and yet no succeeding layer had completely hidden or erased what had been written previously. All of these existed ... to build up the complex and mysterious personality of India... (1960: 46, 49) He went further and clarified that this composite culture, far from being a motley of different elements, was an integrated whole and that this unity lent to it endurance across time. In his own words: "... Ancient India, like ancient China, was a world in itself, a culture and a civilization which gave shape to all things. Foreign influences poured in and often influenced that culture and were absorbed... Some kind of a dream of unity has occupied the mind of India since dawn of civilization. That unity was not conceived as something imposed from outside, a standardization of externals or even of beliefs. It was something deeper and, within its fold, the widest tolerance of belief and custom was practised and every variety acknowledged and even encouraged" (Nehru 1960: 49).

Nehru was aware that ignorance or lack of understanding of this composite fabric of our past led sometimes to a crisis of the spirit. He wrote that the Indian culture, in the first millennium of the Chirstian era, was dynamic and living due to its abilities to tolerate and absorb new elements and negotiate a cultural synthesis. But it developed an insular and static mindset in the later stages and this in turn produced undesirable forms of social behaviour like caste system and untouchability which persist even till today. In Nehru's own words, "Thus, in India, we developed at one and the same time the broadest tolerance and catholicity of thought and opinion, as well as the narrow forms of social behaviour. This split personality has pursued us and we struggle against it even today... We have to face, therefore, this crisis of the spirit in India, even as we have to face grave economic and political problems" (Nehru 2003a: 129). He rejected the attempts that are sometimes made to misread the meaning of this composite culture and emphasized the need for "endeavour to understand what India is and how this nation has developed its composite personality with its many faces and yet with an enduring unity. No one section of the community in India can lay claim to the sole possession of the mind and thought of India. Each part has contributed its own share in making this country what it is. If we do not understand this simple fact, we do not understand India, we cannot adequately render any effective service to the country of ours'' (Nehru 2003a: 131).

We should also keep in mind that Nehru's spirit of nationalism did not prevent him from realizing the larger, transnational or universal dimensions of heritage. We have once again a moving statement in *The Discovery of India*. Nehru poses the question of what after all one's inheritance is and answers it himself in a brilliant way. He writes: 'What is my inheritance? To what am I an heir? To all that humanity has achieved during tens of thousands of years, to all that it has thought and felt and suffered and taken pleasure in, to its cries of triumph and its bitter agony of defeat, to that astonishing adventure of man which began so long ago and yet continues and beckons to us. To all this and more, in common with all men...'' (Nehru 1960: 22-23).

Whatever may be the glowing tributes Nehru and many others paid to the pluralistic character of our past, there have been breaches of it right from the dawn of the historical period. The emperor Ashoka's exhortation in some of his edicts that people should respect each other's religious faith suggests discordant situations had already started appearing. In fact a tribute is in order to him for both recognizing more than 2200 years ago a perennial problem in the human society and arriving at an answer for resolving it. When we come to the later historical and medieval periods, such situations increase in number. In modern history the country's partition and Ayodhya mosque-temple controversy are good examples. That such situations continue into the present is revealed by the divergent pronouncements I have cited at the outset. The issue is how do we cope up with these uneasy situations posing disruptions in the society. I suggest a two-fold and interrelated approach.

The Past in the Indian Mind and Need for Sociological Investigations

Ananda Coomaraswamy (1985) long ago drew attention to the fact that while in the West philosophy has basically come to be viewed as a mental gymnastic and remains at the level of an academic exercise, in India it has become an essential part of life itself; a philosophizing attitude enables people to explore the higher meaning of life as well as means of arriving at it. It is a manifestation of robust sense of the past which is displayed in day-to-day life by both educated classes and non-literate groups spread across the whole length and breadth of the country.

Arising from my childhood experiences of 15 years in a rural setting in coastal Andhra Pradesh, yearly exposure to the rural way of life for a month or two for the next half a century as part of investigation of archaeological sites in the Deccan and continuing informal observations about the behavioural patterns of human groups in both urban and rural settings, I have elsewhere pointed out how ideas and concepts drawn from the past are freely used by people to deal with life situation of various kinds (Paddayya 2011: 8-11). Statements such as 'Protect *Dharma* and *Dharma* will in turn protect you'; 'Don't cross *Lakṣmaṇarekhā'*; 'There is *Mahābhārata* in some form or the other in every family'; and 'Don't play the role of Nārada muni'; and 'Ram...Ram' used as a greeting formula among peasants are some examples among a wide range of precepts and parables adopted from the past and used by common people. I have also briefly mentioned the various ancient and medieval sources from which these notions are obtained and the methods by which these are derived. In non-literate circles tales and myths narrated by elders in childhood, late-evening stage performances such as street-plays based on themes chosen from the epics and Purāṇas, *Harikīrtanas* and *Yakṣagānas* have played a major role in pre-modern times in their dissemination. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* makes a reference to queens personally attending and benefiting from temple-narrations of stories from the epics (Kaul 2013; see also 2014).

Nehru's extensive tours to the countryside during the 1920s and 1930s brought out the anthropologist in him and enabled him to obtain a full glimpse of what he called 'the culture of the masses' and its inseparable bonds with the past. He recognized the presence of what he called the Great Indian Tradition among the ordinary people and called it his true discovery. He further writes that he missed it in the urban middle classes. What is this Great Indian Tradition? He describes it in these words: "...Everywhere I found a cultural background which had exercised a powerful influence on their lives. This background was a mixture of popular philosophy, tradition, history, myth and legend and it was not possible to draw a line between any of these. Even the *entirely uneducated and illiterate* (emphasis added) shared this background. The old epics of India, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata,* and other books, in popular translations and paraphrases, were widely known among the masses and every incident and story and moral in them was engraved on the popular mind and gave a richness and content to it. Literate villagers would know hundreds of verses by heart and their conversations would be full of references to them or to some story with a moral enshrined in some old classic. Often I was surprised by some such literary turn given by a group of villagers to a simple talk about present-day affairs. If my mind was full of pictures from recorded history and more-or-less ascertained fact, I realized that even the illiterate peasant had a picture gallery in his mind, though this was largely drawn from myths, tradition, epic heroes and heroines and only very little from history. Nevertheless, it was vivid enough" (Nehru 1960: 55). This description not only reveals Nehru's readiness to enter into th minds of others and come up with beautiful insights into their functioning but also tells u much about his innate humanistic bent of his mind and the importance he attached to people' sensibilities and perceptions.

In another section of *The Discovery of India* Nehru (1960: 88-95) told us in no uncerta words that the story of ancient India, as viewed by common people, is one of facts which a inextricably mixed up with myths and legends drawn from the two epics and other texts. H concedes that "ignoring of history (in ancient India) had evil consequences which we pursu still. It produced a vagueness of outlook, a divorce from life as it is, a credulity, a woolines of the mind where fact was concerned" (1960: 89). But he immediately qualifies th negative statement and says that he himself had "the background of Indian mythology whic I had imbibed in my earliest years" and also "realized how much more must old mytholog and tradition work on the minds of others and, especially, the unread masses of our people" (1960: 90). Nehru fully grasped the positive influences exercised by this often attenuate conception of the past on the minds of Indian people and how it endowed them with cultural background. In his own words: "... Fact and fiction are so interwoven together as t be inseparable, and this amalgam becomes an imagined history, which may not tell us exact what happened but does tell us something that is equally important - what people believe had taken place, what they thought their ancestors were capable of, and what ideas inspire them. So, whether fact or fiction, it became a living element in their lives, ever pulling the up from the drudgery and ugliness of their everyday existence to higher realms, pointin towards the path of endeavour and right living, even though the ideal might be so far off a difficult to reach" (Nehru 1960: 90).

Continuing this line of empathic understanding, Nehru further stated: "Thus this imagine history... becomes symbolically true and... becomes the basis for thought and action, and f future history..." (1960: 90-1). He asserted that it is the old Indian tradition, with *dharma* a a central concept, which imparted stability and potential strength to the Indian society acro ages (1960: 45). Like Coomaraswamy, Nehru too recognized that a philosophical attitu towards life is an essential ingredient of this Great Indian Tradition and that it "gave the some sense of purpose, of cause and effect, and endowed them with courage to face trial a misfortune and not lose their gaiety and composure" (1960: 72-3).

Nehru's views about common man's perceptions of the past serve to emphasize the ne for relooking at those academic perspectives which totally disregard the importance of so components of our heritage as well as to expose the motives of politico-religious groups the country to take advantage of this pliable side of common man's perceptions and feed people with more exaggerated notions of the past for subserving their own interests. Also the pre-modern methods of disseminating knowledge of the past to the society at large have now by and large been overtaken by TV, cinema and other popular media and in some cases the past has been and is still being used for political and commercial purposes, e.g., the role of mass media in extensively reporting on the Rathayātrā of L.K. Advani in 1992 (Farmer 1996; see also the other essays in Ludden 1996) and Telugu Desam's mass use of cut-outs of N.T. Rama Rao in his cinematographic roles of Rama and Krishna for electioneering. There is also the growth of fundamentalist groups based on religious identities. These changes are of a far-reaching nature and should persuade the academic community to step out from its 'ivory-tower' position. As Hobsbawm (2012: 31) put it, "We swim in the past as fish do in water, cannot escape from it. But our modes of living and moving in the medium require analysis and discussion." One way of doing this is to undertake sociological investigations for obtaining insights into the nature and uses of the past by various segments of the contemporary society and make use of these for suggesting possible corrective steps to deal with the larger issue of identity crisis raised in this lecture.

The sociological studies being suggested here are aimed to grasp the nature of perceptions of the past held in people's minds, methods by which these are acquired, and uses, beneficial or otherwise, of these perceptions by various segments of the society in day-to-day life. I am surely not making a novel suggestion here. We may recall that the world over history writing has in recent times experienced a broader shift going beyond the well-known linguistic turn. The leading international journal *History and Theory* published a special issue on this sociological turn in history writing (Shapiro 1997). In Europe too investigations of how the present societies remember and use the pat have become an important topic in social theory (Urry 2005).

The sociological studies that are being suggested here, I tend to presume, would help us identify uses of the past by various groups and also areas of spread of fantasy-ridden past through cinema, television and other popular media. Such studies will simultaneously enable us to monitor the impact of various processes of modernization and globalization on people's attitudes towards the past.

Broadening the Scope of Liberal Education

Alongside these sociological studies, there is also a need to take a relook at the past forming part of liberal education at school and higher levels. The past that one notices is mostly occupied by the substantive component devoted to description of political, socio-economic and religious matters. It is largely a repetition of what is dished out as part of university courses in history or religion or philosophy. The issue is not about their use as such but concerns the inadequate appreciation of the larger processes that run through these various happenings and events in the past societies. Societies with long histories eventually tend to crystallize and conceptualize their memories of past experiences into general codes or norms, which in turn enter into the society's thought-stream and form its very soul. What I have in mind will be understood better if attention is drawn to the differences between the contents of Max Müller's various specific Indological writings on the one hand and the general themes on the other of his famous orientation lectures delivered in Cambridge University in 1882 and published as a book *India: What can it teach us?* (Max Müller 2000).

Two general aspects of the Indian thought-stream are eye-striking. Far from being static and dovetailed to the Vedic phase or any other period, it developed through various phases of the historical and medieval periods and even the modern period marked by colonial rule and infusion of a newer set of ideas from outside. Inevitably, the thought-stream enriched itself in both content and quality. It has imbibed ideas and propositions from Hinduism, Greek and other foreign sources, Buddhism and Jainism, Islam, Sikhism and other faiths. Again, far from being restricted to religious and philosophical domains, the thought-stream has encompassed political, legal and socio-economic aspects of life. The second thing that strikes us is that this thought-stream, far from being confined to the literate segments, finds regular expression even in the lower, non-literate sections of the society. As has already been pointed out, various concepts or usages drawn from the past are freely employed in day-to-day transactions, all meant for guiding people to right action. This is what Coomaraswamy and Nehru meant when they were referring to the presence of a philosophical bent in the Indian mind. Truly, what is in operation is the Great Indian Tradition, as Nehru called it.

Doubts may arise whether the cognitive abilities of common people are developed enough to grasp these conceptual formulations. But such reservations are uncalled for. Surely even unread groups have enough levels of native wisdom as well as intelligence to be able to separate chaff from grain by way of abstracting the basic messages and meanings issuing from the labyrinth of myths, rituals and legends they are exposed to and from the whole range of goddesses and gods they propitiate by elaborate worship practices and rituals. To cite one simple example, the peasant knows that his worship of various gods and goddesses is only an earthly exercise or support for contemplating about the Supreme or the Absolute - what the Upanishads called the Brahman. Although Max Müller never visited India and experienced the Indian way of life personally, he captures very well this aspect of layman's grasp of the higher principles involved in the worship of various gods in his book *India: What can it teach* *us?* He remarks that the discovery of the Brahman does require observance of moral and intellectual discipline but immediately qualifies the statement by pointing out that "... even those who had not yet discovered it, were allowed to worship lower gods, and to employ more poetical names to satisfy their human wants. Those who knew the other gods to be but names or persons - personal or masks, in the true sense of the word *pratīkas,* as they call them in Sanskrit - knew also that those who worshipped these names or persons, worshipped in truth the Highest Self, though ignorantly'' (Max Müller 2000: 224).

This applies in fact to the whole repertoire of concepts and phrases which people employ in daily social transactions. The daily greeting formula 'Ram... Ram' which the Deccan peasants adopt has no bearing on the historicity of Ram which the historians endlessly debate about but is only meant to remind themselves that they ought to follow the noble qualities of Ram in their social dealings. Seen from this point of view, all these concepts drawn from the past virtually assume the status of icons and play the role of a sheep-dog in their daily life. These serve as final arbiters while judging and disposing of issues of various kinds. We may recall here K.M. Munshi's statement that the final aim of history writing is to bring to surface the values which have inspired people from age to age. Liberal education could cover a whole range of these concepts dating from the Stone Age past to the Vedic period to colonial era - e.g. respect for manual labour, importance of family relationships, avoiding excesses of self-denial or careless abandon in resource use and reverential attitude towards nature characteristic of simple societies; hymn in the *Nāsadiya Sūkta* about Unknown Origins; Hindu concepts like *Dharma* and the *Brahman*; Buddha's Middle Path; Jaina doctrine of *Ahiṁsā*; Zoroastrian concepts of *Asha* (beauty and order in nature) and *Ahura Mazada* (Beloved Lord or Supreme Spirit); Mauryan concept of welfare state; Ashoka's precepts of respect for other faiths and points of view, paternal governance and equality of all before law; Christian doctrines of love and service; Islamic concepts of God as a transcendent and merciful being and egalitarianism in social relations; Akbar's concept of *Din-Ilahi* or Divine Monotheism; saintly preachings of the medieval period from upper and peninsular India; and ideas of freedom of speech, fundamental rights and liberal democracy acquired from the West in colonial times. These and many other concepts, once they are accompanied by explanatory notes about their origins and contexts of use, could form an important part of value education and serve as useful reference points for character-building (for additional comments, see Paddayya 2002, 2004). I am by no means the first person to emphasize the important place which the values or ideals drawn from our past occupy in liberal education in our country. For instance, as early as 1965 the philosopher D. D. Vadekar presented a comprehensive paper on this topic at the Education Commission's seminar on 'Modern Science and Technology and their Harmonizing with Indian Values and Traditions in the Context of a National System of Education for India' held in Pune (for details, see Vadekar 2002).

Conclusion

We began this lecture with a reference to Samuel Huntington's division of the world into eight zones and a situation of undeclared war that exists among these on the basis of religious and cultural identities. Leaving aside the rhetorical tone of the title of his book, that there is a fair degree of truth in Huntington's proposition is shown by events such as the destruction of world trade centre towers in New York, bombing of the tooth-relic temple of the Buddha in Sri Lanka, disfiguring of the Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan and the more recent killing of Charlie Hebdo group of cartoonists in Paris. What is true at the global scale is also true at the intra-zonal or national levels. India is no exception. The various conflicting statements cited in the beginning clearly show that our religious and socio-cultural mosaic is not free from tension. The title of Gerald Larsen's book *India's Agony Over Religion* (1997) tells it all. The elements of conflict and anxiety and claims and counter-claims conveyed by these strongly suggest the need for both the academic community and the civil society to take a fresh look at the whole pursuit of knowledge production about the past and its use in the present.

One thing that emerges clearly from the ongoing engagements with the past is that there is a kind of bipolar division of views in the academic circles. We have on the one side the positivist group including the Marxist or leftist versions, emphasizing the empirical or fact-based character of historical studies and the need to strictly adhere to the canons of scientific objectivity. On the other side there is the idealist orientation asking for the elevation of myths, metaphors and legends to the status of facts and reordering of the historical narrative. Scientific research surely provides scope for and even encourages multiple perspectives and, theoretically speaking, no one approach could lay exclusive claim to truth. As in so many other spheres, here too there is a place for middle path. It seems to me that the 'battle' between competing schools mentioned above is largely confined to upper India and tinged with some degree of personal prejudices and preferences among scholars but is practically invisible in peninsular India.

For instance, the Western Indian traditions of Indological research are free from doctrinaire trends and therefore deserve a special mention here. Sir R.G. Bhandarkar and other nineteenth-century workers were great collectors and analysts; they were also excellent synthesizers and interpreters, but without succumbing to any one theoretical or methodological scheme or school. They made use of the best from any or all sources and approaches, depending upon the particular topic or theme they had taken up for scrutiny. They also treated tradition (oral and written) as an important source. Despite his Marxist orientations even D.D. Kosambi

(1962) provided a place for myths and legends in his work.

In an essay published in 1888 Bhandarkar underlined the importance of critical, comparative and historical approaches while handling both written and antiquarian materials and rigourously applied these himself in his work in philosophy, history, religion and philology (Bhandarkar 1888; see also Phadke 1968 and essays in Dandekar 1976). While he clearly disbelieved in the historical content of the narratives given in the epics and the Vedas, he admitted that "still they are of great historical value in so far as they place before us the thoughts and feelings, the aims and aspirations, and the manners and customs of the people" (Bhandarkar 1888: 368). He also recognized the importance of these texts for edification of common people. At the same time he took strong exception to the uncritical spirit that had come over the scholars "of praising ourselves and our ancestors indiscriminately, seeing nothing but good in our institutions and in our ancient literature, asserting that the ancient Hindus had made every great progress in all the sciences, physical, moral, social and the arts, greater even by far than Europe has made hitherto" (*Ibid*, 392).

These critical and eclectic approaches adumbrated by Bhandarkar and others were continued admirably by their twentieth-century successors. In the first lecture I have already made a pointed reference to the two famous projects of bringing out critical editions of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* texts prepared at Pune and Vadodara, respectively; S.M. Katre's work on the Indian textual criticism and his project for preparing an encyclopaedic dictionary of Sanskrit on historical principles; H.D. Sankalia's use of archaeological sources as Occam's razor for ascertaining the veracity of events of the *Rāmāyaṇa;* and Iravati Karve's reassessment of the character attributes of the personalities of the *Mahābhārata*.

The second aspect that surfaces from the ongoing stirrings relates to the crucial place which heritage occupies in the formation of one's identity. We began this lecture with a reference to Huntington's proposition of a clash of world civilizations. This equation between identity and heritage needs some clarifications. Identity is an asset and endows us with self-esteem and specifies our standing in the society. It is this topic which forms the principal theme of Amartya Sen's book *Identity and Violence and the Illusion of Destiny* (2006). Sen points out that although globalization has ushered in cooperation among nations at several levels, defining identity purely in terms of one's religion or civilization has created much strife and tension in many parts of the world. Disagreeing with Huntington's exclusionary use of these two criteria for defining identity, he says that in actual practice identity works at multiple levels and is defined in terms of factors like gender, class, profession, language, science, music and sports. In a beautiful essay entitled "Taking Pride in a Pluralistic Soceity," Sen takes a review of the films and writings of Satyajit Ray and identifies three underlying themes of the great film-maker concerning cultures and their interrelations - importance of distinctions between various local and regional cultures and their respective individualities; the heterogeneous character of each culture at community or region or country level; and the need for intercultural communication (Sen 1996). Sen clarifies that, notwithstanding this variety, in most situations in life we are governed by multiple identities simultaneously without any conflict, because we instinctively follow the twin precepts of what Sen terms as critical openness of mind and contextual objectivity.

Another aspect of the matter is the need to recognize and appreciate the oneness of humanity. A reference has already been made to Huntington's suggestion of recognizing cultural commonalities of mankind as one way of resolving intercivilizational clashes. Surely this is an old suggestion that has been made by several earlier writers. Nehru's name stands prominently among the Indian writers and I have already cited the moving "What is my inheritance?" statement from *The Discovery of India*, which underscores the universalistic dimension of man's heritage. We might also remind ourselves here that William Jones, in the preface to his work *Grammar of the Persian Language* published in 1771, castigated the British for their insular attitude and said that they are "like the savages, who thought that the sun rose and set for them alone, and could not imagine that the waves, which surrounded their island, left coral and pearls upon any other shore" (Arberry 1960: 79). And the Asiatic Society which he established in Kolkata some thirteen years later was indeed meant for building bridges across continents and cultures.

Here we should take cues from examples provided by day-to-day life of common people in India. In village India people belonging to different faiths, classes, castes, etc. do live together harmoniously, participating in each other's religious fairs and festivals. Just as Tagore, Gandhi, Nehru and other leaders were staunch nationalists but simultaneously international in their outlook, common people too, irrespective of their caste, religious or other affiliations, have a catholic bent of mind with the inherent attribute of appreciating variety in human life. Let me cite here the case of Siddaramappa Gowda, a fifty-five-year-old and 4th Standard-pass farmer, who visited my Budihal Neolithic excavation in North Karnataka in 1994. We had student-trainees from different parts of India and from Japan, Jordan and Europe. Confronted as he was for the first time in his life by such a mixed group of people, he was amazed by the diversity in languages, skin colour and other physical and cultural features, and put himself the question: "Why and how this diversity?" After some moments of self-reflection, he gave himself the answer: "It is *naisargic*!" (ecological/nature-induced). In other words, this semi-literate farmer understood and appreciated the meaning of concept of adaptation we freely employ in our own writings. Given this attitude of mind among people which recognizes and appreciates variety in the human world, there is little scope for friction in village social life.

This harmony gets disturbed only when groups with narrow political and religious interests make entry. It is these changes which find expression in the form of sectarian outbursts at local, regional and national levels. Arrangements for enforcing law and order or taking the matters before courts of law are only curative measures. The need is to avoid injuries - in this case, injuries to mind. It is in this context that liberal education with emphasis on the pluralistic and yet synthetic character of our society and culture assumes critical importance. While Nehru underscored the importance of science and technology for improving the material well-being of Indian people, he required them to simultaneously inculcate a scientific temper of mind so as to facilitate harmonious social life (for additional comments on scientific temper, see Paddayya 2012). Whatever may be the flaws that one may identify in the domestic and foreign policies pursued by Nehru, it is difficult to deny the importance of these two complementary *mantras* devised by him for modernizing India.

Finally, one would like to recall Gandhiji's famous statement that the final objective of *swaraj* was one of improving the standard not merely of living but of life itself. Amartya Sen's (1999) welfare economics echoes Gandhiji's view. Sen equates development with freedom and he too sees economic growth not as an end itself but merely as a means towards the development of human individuals and expansion of their capabilities. He accords a high place to the past in India as one of the shared values which people draw upon to develop their capabilities. These capabilities in turn enable them to exercise their freedoms in the formulation of public policies.

The issue then is one of choosing the use of balanced and principled or else biased and prejudiced perceptions of the past while participating in the agent-centred process of nation's development. It is appropriate to recall here that, some eight hundred years ago, Kalhaṇa in his work *Rājataraṅgiṇī* stipulated that the past could serve either as a stimulant or else as a sedative, as per place and time. In a similar vein, the noted philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, in his essay *Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben* published in 1874, warned about "the historical illness" plaguing the German society and called it "to fix the degree and the limits to the memory of the past, if it is not to become the gravedigger of the present" (Nietzsche 1957: 7). A good reminder to all of us in India of today!*

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REVIEWS

Kavalam Narayan Panikkar- *Parampara aur Samakalinata* (Hindi) by Sangita Gundecha, Vani Prakashan,4695,21-A, Dariyagunj, New Delhi-110002; 2014, First Edition; ISBN - 978-93-5072-681-5; pp. 1-125; Price -Rs. 325/- (paper-back).

For the people, who are interested in Indian theatre especially Sanskrit theatre, the name of Kavalam Narayan Panikkar is well-known. Pannikar is a school of theatre of his own kind which enacts Sanskrit and Malayalam dramas. He is a theatre-Director, poet, expert of Kerala's folk-arts and music and teacher of *Mohiniaṭṭam* dance-music. A common man may not be aware of this great man and his great contribution to the theatre.

The book under review (in Hindi) is a complete introduction of the man and his evolution from a simple but enthusiastic child to a serious theatre person. It is divided in three parts - *Saṁvāda* (dialogue) where two interviews with Panikkar (interviewed by the author), a good number of black and white photographs of Panikkar, from his journey from the village Kavalam as a child to a performing artist, his family, with different great personalities. In second part *Panikkar aur Bhāsa* -some essays on Panikkar's Theatre style specifically enactment of Bhāsa's dramas by him, are given. The six essays give us an impressive understanding of Bhāsa through the eyes of Panikkar. The third and the last part of the book is - *Samīkṣā* (analysis) of Panikkar's dramas, presentation of five dramas of Panikkar by *Sopāna* (his theatre group in Kerala) in Bhopal (in 2010). There is a list of dramas enacted by *Sopāna* since 1966.

Born on April 28, 1928 in a traditional farmer family in Kavalam, he graduated with Economics and later with L.L.B. from Madras Law College. He was deeply interested in cultural tradition of farmer community of his area.

The outstanding contribution of Panikkar to the theatre world is - reviving Bhāsa. If T. Ganapatisastri is acclaimed for inventing Bhāsa's 13 plays for the first time, it is Kavalam Panikkar who invented *nāṭyatattva* in those plays and made the world realize their theatrical value. The presence of music in these plays, folk elements inspired Panikkar to experiment with his plays (*Pratimānāṭakam* in *Kuḍiaṭṭam*). A very interesting fact is known by the book that the *'Chākyārs'* (the artists performing *Kuḍiaṭṭam* - a dance-drama style of Kerala), are performing the plays of Bhāsa from nearly last ten centuries to this day. Bhāsa's plays are more important from theatrical point of view than the literary value, contrary to most of the Sanskrit plays (especially Kālidāsa) which are worth reading than watching being enacted.

Panikkar's theatre troupe *Sopāna* has not only enacted Bhāsa's plays but they have enacted Kālidāsa's (*Vikramorvaśīyam, Ṃālavikāgnimitra, Abhijñānaśākuntala*), Bhavabhūti's

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(*Uttararāmacarita*), Bodhāyana's (*Bhagavadajjukīya*) plays also, but, their favorite dramatist is Bhāsa and his *Karṇabhāra, Madhyamavyāyoga, Urubhaṅga* , *Cārudatta* and *Pratimānāṭaka.*

The two Interviews of Panikkar are very enlightening since they give us an insight to see his thought machine. His selection of plays of Bhāsa and Kālidāsa, Bhāsa being predecessor of Bharata, a new meaning of *Pratimā* in *Pratimānāṭakam* of Bhāsa, his new drama style using folk-elements, relation of Kerala with *Nāṭyaśāstra* while performing theatre. The photograph section displays the life of Panikkar from childhood to his family life to his achievements and some interacting moments with other theatre-persons/ scholars.

Kavalam Panikkar's research on Bhāsa is very important for the students of Sanskrit dramas because whatever information about Bhāsa we have, are extracted from his plays, his language and his style. Never mentioned by his contemporaries or successors, this scholar is a mystical man who never got his due respect in Sanskrit world. His plays were performance-potential what Panikkar has proved by playing them from last 50 years.

A word about the author Sangita Gundecha who is an ardent researcher of Sanskrit Theatre. She did her Ph. D. on *Bhāsa kā raṅgamañca* (Theatre of Bhāsa) and discovered many unknown facts about performing theatre of Sanskrit. A poet, a story-writer, a classical-singer, a translator and an essayist... all aspects of her personality are reflected in this book. The language is flowing which has a class and ability to reciprocate the feelings of the artist to the readers. It is indeed a pleasure to read the book without any typographical mistake. The get-up of the book is classy.

I congratulate Dr. Sangita Gundecha for presenting a very interesting and informative book to the readers of theatre and made us know about the great contribution of Kavalam Narayan Panikkar to Sanskrit theatre.

Oriental Institute
Vadodara

Sharmila Bagchi

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The Indian Temple Traceries by M. A. Dhaky, American Institute of Indian Studies and D.K. Printworld, New Delhi:, 2005, pp. xix-490 with 348 black and white plates and 55 drawings, Price-Rs. 3,600/-, ISBN. 8124602239

This handsome and fairly voluminous tome is yet another gift to the students of history of Indian architectural traditions from the 'Viśvakarmā of Indian architecture' as George Michel called Professor Madhusudan A. Dhaky in his speech at the release function of *The Temples* *of Kumbhāriyā* and of *Encyclopedia of Indian Temple Architecture 1.4-A.*[1] A student of Geology turned to Indian architecture (and this reminds me of the great Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, who likewise switched over to Indian art and architecture from Geology), Dhaky has made, over the years, most valuable contributions to the history of temple architecture, let alone his seminal works in Jainology and other disciplines, both as the *voyant* (as Rimbaud fondly called Baudelaire) and as a major contributor to the multi-volume *Encyclopedia of Indian Temple Architecture* (EITA). At present, despite his failing health, Dhaky has been assiduously pursuing the much-awaited volume of *The Annotated and Illustrated Glossary of the Drāviḍian Architectural Terms*, the most definitive cornice to the gigantic edifice of *EITA*.

The work under review, as Dhaky informs us, was originally designed as a monograph some two and a half decades ago.[2] He worked out almost half of it too, but could not complete it because of his preoccupation with the Encyclopedia project, sponsored by the American Institute of Indian Studies where he worked in the capacity of Director (Research), Center for Art and Archaeology. Dhaky has dedicated this book to Dr. Moti Chandra, his Ph.D. Supervisor.

In this book, he dwells upon one of the most important yet most neglected aspects of Indian architectural devices, namely the Jāla(ka), comparing and contrasting it not only with that of the Islamic but also of the Gothic architecture in Europe for which he has an uncanny love. With no previous work precedent in the area, Dhaky as the initiator took pains to collect the photographic illustrations of various examples of Grills from all over India, and indeed from the south-east Asia as well, and then belaboured over the admittedly difficult technical Sanskrit texts, mostly from south India, to find out where the actual specimens of grills and the textual descriptions converge; whereupon he classified the grills under the rubrics supplied by the literature. This work manifests a thorough grasp of the relevant śāstric literature and modern research methodology coupled with painstaking and detailed fieldwork which he carried out over the decades not only in India but also at the Gothic buildings in Europe.

The work opens with an introduction which in the words of the author 'luxuriates in style' (likened by Tillotsen as well as by Meister to that of André Malraux; as is known to his readers, Dhaky sees the writing style of Malraux as his ideal) and which gives a very compact view of the formal evolution, geographical distribution, ecological considerations, and certainly the aesthetic dimensions of the Indian grills. Like all other early Indian architectural devices, the grills too betray their wooden origin. A firm advocate of the fruitful marriage of fieldwork and śāstric literature, or, of 'book view' and 'field view' to borrow anthropologists' terminology, Dhaky also discusses the problems of identification of types vis-á-vis literature and the ways to solve them. Dhaky has heavily relied on the Tamilnadu and Kerala's Sanskrit *vāstuśāstra* tradition to find out the denominations for the various screen types. He is of course aware of the inherent danger: for the texts which he quotes and wherefrom he draws his classification and nomenclature, come from the lower southern India, whereas the actual, and the earliest, examples are known not from that region but from northern India and from Karnataka; these are the regions from which no literature on architecture has been reported till date. However, he optimistically says:

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[1] On 7 January 2002, Gurgaon. I was present at the ceremony. I was working on my project on 'Orientalism and the Study of Indian Art' for which the Institute had awarded me Junior Research Fellowship.

[2] Actually, in 1963 Dhaky wrote, if in joint authorship, an article on the traceries of Gujarat (*Gujarāt-nī jāla-samṛddhi*, Kumāra, July 1963, pp. 290-297). It would not be wrong to assume that since that time traceries had attracted his attention.

> "Some day [sic!], the technical literature about the *jālas* of Brahmanical northern India as well as medieval Karṇāṭa, will come to light; and this then may help amplify the range of types, nomenclature and predictably, different sensibilities and perceptions. That may compel us to modify some of the identifications dọne and approaches adopted here and may also reveal the viewpoints of the traditions indigenous to those regions." (p. 12)

The second chapter deals with the etymology and semantics of the Sanskrit term *jāla*. Dhaky notes down and discusses its earliest occurrences in the epics and classical texts. Though I personally feel that the references in the epics and *Manusmṛti* may be of late origin, for while the word *jāla* is fairly common in Kālidāsa's oeuvre, it is not found in earlier literature, for example, in Aśvaghoṣa. He also discusses the synonyms of *jāla,* namely *'gavākṣa', 'vātāyana'* etc. with occasional help from the actual instances. After a careful analysis of the literal meaning of the terms for *jāla*, he comes to the conclusion that though these words are freely used as synonyms in literary texts, they are as a matter of fact not so. He notes, for example, the *vātāyana*, in the constitutional and hence in the technical sense cannot be equated with *jāla*.' (p. 20)

The author in the next chapter extensively quotes and discusses passages from the Sanskrit texts, thankfully in Devanāgarī, pertaining to *jālas* from technical literature (pp. 41-48). These texts, at least in their present shape, cannot be traced back before the tenth century CE (*cf.* pp. 27-28 with relevant notes, and note 16 on p. 24), but, as is normal in Indian case, they do like all other such 'late'-stamped texts, contain material which is arguably considerably older. There is no reason then not to concur with Dhaky when he says,

> "We may rely on the ancient wisdom and authority of the Damila/Tamila tradition, which is the most conservative and hence relatively the most faithful in preserving the fundamental forms, both in theory and in execution, recalling as they frequently do the earliest phases of Indian architecture." (p. 12)

The fourth chapter 'The Textual and Actual Types' is a rigorous effort to transform the textual types into actual and the other way round. With his first-hand knowledge of technical textual sources and equally diligent field studies, Dhaky finds no difficulty in so doing. He says: 'The *jāla* types enumerated by the texts, collectively 16, by and large are encountered in the actual examples' (p. 49). And then he goes on to show how these 16 śāstric examples (tabulated on pp. 36-37) are transformed, albeit, in some cases, with alterations, revisions, and modifications as the sculptor deemed necessary, into actuality. They are *Svastika, Nandyāvarta, Ṛjujālaka* (or *Ṛjukriyā, Ṛjusaṁjñā, Caturaśra, Turyaśra(ka), Kuñjarākṣa (or Gajendranayana, Gajākṣa, Hastinetra),*[3] *Vardhamāna, Gavākṣa* (or *Gonetra), Sakarṇa, Sarvatobhadra, Puṣpakaṇṭha,* Patra (or *Patrajālaka*), *Latā* (or *Latāyukta, vallī*), *Gomūtra, Stambha, Gulikā,* and *Nāgabandha*. Dhaky however has classified, and discussed at length, these traceries under different rubrics. They are: auspicious symbol types, geometric, architectural, vegetal, figurative, composite, *sakhaṇḍaka*, and unclassified types (pp. 48-52).

Of special importance is Dhaky's identification of *Nandyāvarta*, The identification of this symbol has been a subject of great deliberation. Throgh the Jainas interpret it as '*akṣaya svastika'* (cf, for instance, Cort 2001: 77, fig. 3.6), most scholars are of the opinion that this is not the correct identification (von Hinuåber 1974: 362-363; Dhaky 2000: 162-163 and 2005: 55; on the contrary Bapat 1953: 46 takes the Jaina tradition to be truthful). Oskar von Hinuåber reviewed the issue at a grate length and put forward his opinion that this symbol is nothing but what is otherwise known as *triratna* or *triśūla* or *nandipada* (von Hinuåber 1974); this symbol resembles the Greek lowercase omega; ω. Scholars and art historians like Bénisti (1977: 76-77), Moeller (1978), Srivastava (1991), Quagliotti (1993, 1998), Quintanilla (2000, 2007: 16-17, 98 n.2) have also discussed this symbol. I connot take up the issue here for want of space; I have plans to elaborate upon it elsewhere. Suffice to say here that Dhaky. Taking cues from mediaeval Sanskrit lexicons and with his intimate knowledge of actual symbols carved in various media in art and architecture, argues that the 'original or real' *nandyāvarta* 'was a tetraskeles with four curved arms emanating form a centeral roundel' (p.55 and see, figure on p. 56).

The last two chapters deal with traceries in the Islamic world and those of the Gothic architecture (pp. 85-106). The author quite correctly notes that because of the religious forbiddances, the Islamic architects exploited the device with unprecedentedly beautiful and intricately carved geometric designs. His main aim behind taking up the Gothic traceries is to demonstrate 'the formal progression, from relatively simpler to more complex' types of traceries and that too not in 'the chronological order but [in accordance with] the sequence as it get arranged from the formally simpler to the more complex types as were conceived and crafted in churches of different categories' (p. 92).

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[3] Its a common practice in Sanskrit to freely use synonyms to fit the metre. Here, therefore, *Gajendra, Gaja, Hastin, Kuñjara* are used interchangeably, just the same as in the *Mahābhārata, Gajāhvya, Nāgahvya* are used for Hāstinapura (also spelt, wrongly, Hastināpura).

'Comments on Plates' bears author's profound erudition of the subject. Here he provides the canonical Sanskrit names of the grills, the building in which the tracery appears, their date and place, and above all, a penetrating and sympathetic aesthetic exposition. 'Glossary' is appended at the end of the work and elucidates the technical vocabulary of Indian and Christian architecture. The Epilogue critically sums up the findings of the work. The classified Bibliography as detailed as is useful.

The author, as has been known to his readers, is meticulous about the fine nuances of language, even coining new words to suit his needs, and the present work bears yet another testimony to his penchant for exactness. Yet I find the title of the volume a bit misleading, for, apart from Indian temple traceries, it also contains substantial and authoritative chapters on the Islamic and Gothic traceries, not to mention the occasional parallel instances from the south-east Asian countries. Written in elegant and beautiful prose, with attractive lay out and printing, reading this work is certainly both a profit and a pleasure.

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Vallabh Vidyanagar

Hemant Dave

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Hinduism : Scriptures and Practices by Prabha Duneja, Published by New Age Books, A-44, Naraina Industrial Area, Phase-I, New Delhi-110028. 2014, Price Rs.400/- Pages-448.

The book *Hinduism : Scriptures and Practices* by Prabha Duneja is one of the most remarkable contributions to the study of Hindu Religion and Culture. The book starts with a methodical manner followed by the Introduction. The introduction, itself, is very comprehensive. The book consists of twelve chapters along with index.

The first chapter deals with the Holy Vedas namely *Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda* and *Atharvaveda.*

The 2nd chapter is of great importance today as *Upaniṣads* are really the depositary of divine knowledge. It is the concluding part of the Veda. The teaching of the *Upaniṣads* revealed the deep mysteries of the soul to their disciples. In fact, the *Upaniṣads* have been acknowledged to be the source of profound philosophies by great philosophers in the world.

Manusmṛti stands pre-eminent in the *Smṛti* literature. It is a compendium of ancient wisdom, political, social and cultural life of people. It gives us guidelines for the organization of a peaceful society, the adiministration of a country, punishment of criminals and so on. Though in the 3rd chapter, there are many topics, one of the most important topics is *varṇāśramadharma* i.e. duties and rights of an individual at the different stages of life. The author has given the ritualistic performance of sixteen *samskāras* i.e. *garbhādhāna* to *antyeṣṭi.*

Epics are the encyclopedia of our ancient wisdom. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is one of the most famous epics in the literature. It is also considered to be a Holy Scripture around the world. It consists of 24000 verses divided into seven sections i.e *kāṇḍas.* The *Rāmāyaṇa* by *Maharṣi* Vālmīki, has been considered to be the most important part of Indian culture. Another great epic *Mahābhārata* is a unique composition in the world's classical literature. The great epic is divided into 18 sections known as *Parvas.*

In the 6th chapter the author has given us a comprehensive philosophy of the *Bhagawad Gītā* in all 18 *adhyāyas.* The concept of Gods and Goddesses are the personification of the Supreme Reality, guiding the devotees who seek help with prayers and meditations. The worship of Śrī Gaṇeśa forms an important part of all Hindu rituals. The author describes the importance of all the deities. Lord Brahmā is the creator of the entire universe, Lord Viṣṇu is the sustainer and Lord Maheśwara is the annihilator as well as the regenerator. It must be noted here that there is a description of popular symbols which are used in meditation and ritualistic worship such as *Swastika*, *Dharma cakra, Śrī cakra,* and *Śāligrāma* etc.

Yoga philosophy is one of the orthodox systems of Indian Philosophical systems. In this chapter namely *Yoga* and *Cakra* Meditation, the author has nicely elaborated the importance of the *Aṣṭāṅgayoga* i.e. *Yama, Niyama, Āsana, Prāṇāyāma, Pratyāhāra, Dhāraṇā, Dhyāna,* and *Samādhi* along with its modern counterpart. *Dhyāna i.e.* meditation with *mantra* has been glorified in almost all the ancient scriptures. A *mantra* can be a syllable, a single word or a verse. It is a concise prayer with powerful vibrations. The author has also given the philosophy as well as the location of the *cakras* which are psychic centers along the route of *Suṣumnā nāḍī* in the spinal cord.

The 11th chapter paints a picture of colorful festivals which is part and parcel of Hindu religion. These festivals such as *Makara Saṁkrānt, Holī, Rakṣābandhana, Dīpāvalī* and so on, are associated with India's rich cultural and religious heritage. Again each festival is associated with several legends. These festivals are important as they remind us about our duties towards family and the community in which we live.

The last but not the least important chapter is Status of Women in Hindu Society. In the Vedic period women held a respectable status in society. The *Brahmavādinis* of Vedic period were epitomes of intellectual and spiritual accomplishments. A woman is indeed the nucleus around which everything in family and society revolves.

The book will be useful for readers who are really interested in Hindu Culture and Religion.

Pune

Anagha Joshi

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ORIENTAL INSTITUTE'S ACTIVITIES (2014 - 2015)

The year 2014 will be remembered by Oriental Institute as it lost a senior member of the Institute Prof M.L.Wadekar on 19th June 2014, who was its Officiating Director from last 14 years. But, as it is said 'Show must go on', the Institute resumed its pace with great momentum since it was lagging behind at many fronts.

Digitization Project: The Institute was in national newspapers for its Digitization Projects from quite sometimes. Though the Institute has started providing only digitized copies to scholars since 2006, but, thus only those manuscripts could be digitized which were requested by the scholars. Digitizing all the Manuscripts of the Institute needed funds and sponsors. The Institute started to take it in small strides. In 2010, UGC provided Rs.150000 for Digitization of Oriental Institute's Manuscripts and Rare books under 11th five-year plan. By that fund, 1500 manuscripts and some number of books could be digitized. Then Shri Smasta Jain Sangh of Vadodara, digitized all Jain Manuscripts of the Institute (more than 6000 in Nos.). In the year 2014, the National Manuscript Mission decided to digitize all manuscripts of Oriental Institute. It started on 11th Nov 2014. The team appointed for the Project, worked for 13 hours (in shifts) a day and thus till June 2015, completed first phase of the project, covering 80% of the collection. The second phase will be starting shortly.

Publications: After printing 62nd Vol of **Journal of Oriental Institute** (JOI) and 50th Vol (Golden Jubilee issue) of **Svadhyaya**, the slightly slowed down pace of the publications of Oriental Institute was expedited with starting of publication process of three issues of JOI - Vol. 63 & 64 and **Svadhyaya** (Guj.) -Vol. 51. A proper updated prospectus with list of all Publications of the Institute, is also under printing process. The fifth volume of Manuscript's Catalogue is also under print. With the publication of this Catalogue, all the manuscripts of the Institute (30,295) will be known to the scholars of the world. The Institute has reprinted *Adyavajrasangraha* (first published in 1927, GOS No. 40) - a Buddhist text, *Shrimant Sayajirao Gaekwad* - Part 1 & 2 Combined in one book (Sayaji Sahityamala Series No. 283 & 284, Gujarati), *Rāmāyaṇa* Critical Edition, Vol. IV- *Kiskindhakanda* (first published in 1965).

Mahābhāratanā gūḍha rahasyo - a Gujarati translation by Vijaya Lele of the Marathi book '*Mahabharatatil gūḍha rahasye*' by G.V.Kavishwar (as Sayaji Sahityamala Series Publication), is under print. In the Critical Edition Wing, the preparation of Critical Text and Critical Apparatus of *Vāyupurāṇa* is in progress.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, Vol. 64, Nos. 1-4, September-December 2014 and March-June 2015 Issue, pp. 115-118.

Seminars : This year, the Institute organized two very Important Seminars. First one was a one day National seminar on **'Children's Literature in India: Trends and Challenges'** on 5th Dec 2014. Shri Harshad Shah, Vice-Chancellor of Children's University, Gandhinagar, delivered the key-note address. Along with the participants, the guest speakers were Shri Ramesh Dave - a writer and critic of Hindi from Bhopal and Dr. Shraddha Trivedi, Children's literature writer and critic of Gujarati language from Ahmedabad.

Second National seminar was on **'Indian Arts Enshrined in Textual Tradition: With special Reference to Gujarat'**. The seminar was organized by Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts (IGNCA), New Delhi in association with Oriental Institute, The M.S.University of Baroda, Vadodara (Guj) on 29 - 30 Dec 2014 at Oriental Institute's premises. Dr. Deven Patel from University of Pennsylvania delivered the Key Note Address. The other speakers were invited from different fields of Gujarati culture like Literature, Archaeology, Textile, Music, Dance. The evening was vibrant with traditional *Bhavai* and *Garba* presentation by traditional folk-dancers.

Lectures : 1.This year, the Institute organized ten **Extra Mural Lectures** on different subjects

S.N.	Date	Topic	Speaker
1.	18.11.14	Globalization and Modern Sanskrit Literature.	**Prof Niranjan Patel**, Head, Dept of Sanskrit, Sardar patel University, Vallabh Vidya Nagar
2.	20.1.15	1. Interpersonal Communication Skill 2. Professional Communication Techniques	**Dr. Anshu Surve**, Dept of English, Faculty of Commerce, The M.S.University of Baroda
3.	2.2.15	Two lectures on *Natyasastra*	**Prof Mahesh Champaklal**, Former Dean, Faculty of Performing Arts, The M.S. University of Baroda

4.	18.2.15	1.An Introduction of *Madhyamavyāyoga* 2. An Introduction of *Abhijnānasakuntalam*	**Prof R.I. Nanavati** Former Director, Oriental Institute, The M.S.University of Baroda
5.	20.3.15	Folk Instruments of Gujarat	**Prof Gaurang Bhavsar,** Dept. of Tabla, Faculty of Performing Arts, The M.S.University of Baroda
6.	23.3.15	1. *Ramayana ane puratattva paddhati ane prasno* 2. *Ayodhyano sthalavinirnaya*	**Dr. Hemant Dave** Asstt. Prof in History, Dept. of History, S.P.University, Vallabh Vidyanagar

2. The annual **Late Dr.U.P. Shah Memorial Lecture Series** (15th event) was held on 17.3.15. This year Padmashri Prof K. Paddaiyya from Deccan College, Pune delivered two lectures on - 1. 'On some Historiographical Aspects of Oriental Studies' and 2. 'Heritage in India : Identity Crisis once again'.

Visiting other Manuscript - Libraries: This year, two visits were conducted by Institute's Research Officers to other Manuscript-Libraries in India. One team visited Vrindavan's (U.P.) two libraries - Vrindavan Research Institute and Shri Chaitanya Sanskrit Shiksa Sansthan, Jiva Institute. They acquired three digitized copies of manuscripts. The I/C Director herself, visited Kota's (Raj.) famous Rajasthan Oriental Institute and Akalanka Sodha Sansthana. The visit was fruitful by getting digitized copies of three manuscripts and get to know about important information regarding conservation of manuscripts.

Visitors at Oriental Institute: Oriental Institute is known to Sanskrit scholars all over the world for its manuscript-collection. The scholars from far and near visit the Institute in search of Manuscripts' copies. Often people other than scholars, students of schools and colleges also visit the Institute to have a look at our glorious past. Some of them are -

S.N.	Date	Name,Place of the visiting person/s	Purpose of the visit
1.	3 - 4th May 2014	Holly Shaffer, Yale University (USA)	To refer Manuscripts & get copies of them.

2.	9th June 2014	Dr. Pinakin Pandya, Sardar Patel Uni.,Vallabh Vidya Nagar with 16 students	Educational Tour
3.	12th June 2014	Urdhva Raval with Jainam Shah, 4338, ST. Flushing, NY (USA)	To see the Institute
4.	24th June 2015	Dr. Bhaskar P. Joshi, Advisor I.P. University, New Delhi	To see the Institute
5.	24th July 2014	Ms. Vaishali Mehta with 64 students of Tejas Vidyalaya, Vadodara	Educational Tour
6.	4th Oct. 2014	Mr. Sunil Sanatan Mohanti with Kamlesh Surve, Ahmedabad Mirror (daily)	Official Tour
7.	17th Dec 2014	Dr. Anagha Joshi, Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Pune	To refer Manuscripts
8.	22nd Dec 2014	Mr,. Hasmukh A. Jadhav with 20 students of Kelwani Trust Vidyalaya, Akota, Vadodara	Educational Tour.
9.	6th Jan 2015	Mr. Hemant Kumar Gupta, Bank Manager - Central bank of India, Vadodara	To see the Institute.
10.	23rd Jan 2015	Shri Arvind Sitaraman with wife Somya, Bangluru (Karnataka)	To refer Manusripts of Sankaracarya's works & see the Institute
11.	31st Jan 2015	Dr. Sanghamitra Pradhan with 9 students of Dept. of Journalism, M.S.University of Baroda, Vadodara	Educational Tour
12.	16th March 2015	Shri Mahesh C Rekhe, Ahmadnagar (Maharashtra) with 15 (Vedapathi) guests from Pune	To see the institute.
13.	18th March 2015	Judith Unterdorfler, 21107 Hamsberg, Germany	To refer Manuscripts
14.	19th March 2015	Chandni S Jasani with 28 students of H. A. C. College, Jasdal (Rajkot)	Educational Tour

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INDEX

Journal of the Oriental Institute (Volumes 51-62)

Compiled by
Suma Desai*

AUTHORS

Ajotikar Anuja, Kulkarni Malhar & Ajotikar Tanuja
Derivation of Declension of *Asmad* and *Yuṣmad* in Jainendra Grammar **60.1-2.**41

Ajotikar Tanuja, Ajotikar Anuja & Kulkarni Malhar
Derivation of Declension of *Asmad* and *Yuṣmad* in Jainendra Grammar **60.1-2.**41

Amoli, Yatendra Dutt
(The) Yogic Exposition of *Sattarka* in the Monistic Śaivism of Kāśmira **58.3-4.**139

Arjunwadkar, Krishna S.
Prapañca-sāra ascribed to Śaṅkara **51.3-4.**223

Arunkumar,
Secondary Dilmun and the Kurus of the *Kali* Age **54.**27

Bagchi, Sharmila
Contribution of Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa 'Bhaḍa' to Ritualistic Doctrine **52.3-4.**283
Khaṇḍakāvya - A *Sāṅketikārthakāvya* **52.1-2.**71
Lalitavistara - A Biographical History of Buddha's Life **62.**113
Tantra Works by the Oriental Institute of Baroda **53.**139
Truth in Literature: Modern Sanskrit Poetry with Special Reference To *Sandhānam* **51.1-2.**149
Vāmācāramatakhaṇḍana - A Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa's work Refuting *Vāmācāra* **55.**63

---

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P.S. - 1. The bold numerals stand for volume numbers and issues, while the following plain numerals refer to the page number of that Particular volume.

REVIEWS

भाति ते भारतम् - संस्कृतप्रतिकाव्यम् by Harshadev Madhav with English Translation by Arun Ranjan Mishra 58.3-4.279

DARŚAN, Seeing the Divine Image in India by Diana L. Eck 58.1-2.113

Indian Music-Eminent Thinkers on Core Issues- Edited by R. C. Mehta 52.1-2.177

Manaso Naimiṣāraṇyam - a collection of sixteen modern Sanskrit Poems by Harsadeva Madhava 54.152

Music Education in the Asia Pacific Region: Essays in Relative Values, ... Chief Editor- R.C. Mehta, Guest Editors - M. Hariharan and Gauri Kuppuswami 53.164

Nāṭyāmṛtam by Dr. Kailash Nath Dvivedi 54.148

Saralasaṁskṛtasaṁbhāṣakam (Part I and II): by Acharya Digambar Mahapatra 52.3-4.341

(The) Traditional Sanskrit Theatre of Kerala by Dr. C. Rajendran 51.1-2.217

Bagchi, Sharmila & Patel, Ambika

A Prologue to Buddhist Written Records/Manuscripts from Gujarat and Their Conservation 61.63

Bakre, Alka

Dakṣiṇādāna - A Socio-Historical Study 56.49

Bapat, Asawari Uday

Āśumṛtakaparīkṣā : A Study from Modern Angle 56.35

Bapat, Shreenanda L.

Dvīpavyavasthā : Evidence of Awareness of the Modern Discoveries During The Early Colonial Period. 51.1-2.95

Barot, K.C.

Observance of Agreement and Brahmbhatt Caste (A Historical Perspective) 55.83

Beedkar, Milind M.

Education for Human Excellence - *Vedānta* in Practice 55.109

Motivation - An Integral Aspect of *Vedānta*. 52.3-4.303

Bhat, Asawari V.

Pūrvaraṅga in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and Symbolism 55.09

Value Education in Bhāsa's Plays. 53.29

Bhat, Vivek M.

Literature and Linguistics. 53.79

Bhatt, J. K.

REVIEWS ....

GANESHA, Lord of Obstacles, Lord of Beginnings by Paul B. Courtright 52.1-2.167

Tantra - In Practice, Ed. by David Gordan White 51.1-2.198

Bhattacharya, Dipak

OBITUARY
(Prof. Dr.) Anantalal Thakur 59.1-2.181

Bhattacharya, Sudeshna

Saṁjñā and *Paribhāṣa* - A Relative Study on the Basis of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* 56.93

Bhavnagari, Nina

Nature of *Rasa* in Kuntaka's *Vakrokti*-Theory 58.1-2.79

REVIEW
Contribution of Rāmacandra Paṇḍita to Sanskrit Literature - Edited by Prof. Dr. M.L. Wadekar 54.146

Bhide Prasad and Kulkarni Malhar

Constituent Structure in Sanskrit Lexicography with Special Reference to Deccan College Dictionary Project 62.149

Biswas, Bhagirathi

Scientific Literature in Sanskrit and its Relevance 59.3-4.79

Brahmachari, Usha M.

Dharmasaṅgraha - An Ancient Buddhist Text - A Bird's Eye View 61.75

Index to Journal of the Oriental Institute Vol. XXVI-L 1976-2000 (The M.S.University Oriental Series No. 20.) 51.3-4.1-206

Select Contents of oriental Journals 51.1-2.157 51.3-4.301 52.1-2.139
52.3-4.319 53.147 54.127
55.115 56.205 57.139
58.1-2.93 58.3-4.267 59.1-2.171
59.3-4.115 60.1-2.133 60.3-4.73
61.173 62.167

Śrīmadbhāgavatapurāṇa's Uṣā-Aniruddha-Kathā and Gujarātī Okhāharaṇa - A Comparative Study 60.3-4.41

REVIEWS

Enlightenment Beyond Traditions, Ed. by Aziz Kristof and Houman Emami 51.1-2.205

Mahābhārata meṁ Vijñāna Darśana aur Samāja (महाभारत में विज्ञान, दर्शन और समाज), by Dr. Rajakumari Trikha 59.3-4.127

Mahatma Gandhi- An Enigma, Autobiography of Truth by- Pravinchandra C. Parekh 52.1-2.174

Sri Babaji : Immortal Yogi of the Himalayas by Remola Butalia 58.1-2.111

Chakravarty, Ranjan

A Comparative Study of Some Technical Terms & Definitions of the *Prayogaratnamālāvyākaraṇa* and the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 61.103

Chattopadhyay, Sukumar

Concept of *Rajas* in the Vedic Literature 53.79

Vedic Concept of *Anna* - the Primary Requirement of Being 55.01

Chauhan, G. C.

Ashoka's Dharma : Its Interpretations and Paradigms as Gleaned From Rock Edicts 61.49

Chekki, Dan A.

The Spiritual Path of Devotion: The *Vīraśaiva* Perspective 60.1-2.21

The *Vīraśaiva* Philosophy and Mysticism in the Lyrics of Siddharāma Śivayogī 52.1-2.25

The *Vīraśaiva* Religious Tradition: Is it a Religion Distinct from Hinduism? 57.01

Chemburkar, Jaya

A Review of *Karmayoga (Kriyāyoga)* Narrated in the *Matsya Purāṇa* 57.27

Vicissitudes in *Dharma* 59.3-4.47

Dangarikar Chaitali and Kulkarni, Malhar

Helārāja's Description of Ontological Semantics Based on Bhartṛhari's Ontology 59.1-2.11

Deglurkar, G. B.

Some Aspects of The Iconography of Viṣṇu 60.3-4.21

Dev, Pranav

Ranakpur Temples : A Treasure House of Art & Architecture 52.1-2.35

Devi, Manjula

The Sun as Viewed Scientifically by the Vedic Seers 58.3-4.119

The Teachings of Karman - A Vedic Study. 54.09

Vedic Practices in the Society of the *Rāmāyaṇa* Age 59.3-4.37

Dharukar Chinmay, Katira Dipesh, Kulkarni Malhar and Oak Rajshree

Issues of Errors in Usage of Adjectives in the Syntax of Modern Sanskrit 61.127

Dwivedi, Dhananjay Vasudeo

Ritualistic Significance of *Tulasī* : A Study 62.77

Gandhi, Madhav

REVIEW

(The) Catalogue of the Ancient-coins in the B.J. Institute Museum, edited by Dr. Bharati Shelat 55.126

Goldman, Robert P.

Two Lectures On The Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa (The M.S.University Oriental Series No. 22) 55.1-39

Handa, Devendra

(A) Note on An Unknown Inscribed Metal Image of Padmāvatī in Jain Temple, Osian 60.1-2.55

Two Less-Known Sculptures From Palwal (Haryana) 59.3-4.111

Jain, N.P.

OBITUARY

(Shri) Muniśrī Jambuvijayji Maharaj 59.1-2.179

Jani, Jaydev

Ahalyāśatakam (A Century of Verses on Ahalyā's Life) 57.81

Jena, Biswanath

Is Neglect of Testimony Justified? 57.57

Jena, S.

(The) *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 5.2.1-3 - A Critique **61.**01
Jayadev's Concept of Śrī Rādhā and its impact on the Orissan Culture **59.3-4.**87
Riddles and their Resolutions in the Mythology of Śiva **58.3-4.**185
Significance of *Śikṣā-vallī Anuvāka* 11 of The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* **62.**43

REVIEW

(A) Critical Study of Mahābhāgavata Purāṇam by Hansa B. Bhatt **52.1-2.**184

Jha, Ratish Chandra

(A) Study of Metarules Based on *Śāstra* **60.1-2.**01

Jha, Sudha

Social Status of *Devadāsī-Nityasumangalī* **51.1-2.**85

Joshi, Harsiddha M.

Polytheism, Monism and Rational Temper in Philosophical
Traditions in Gujarati Literature **51.1-2.**109
Stages of Development in Shri Aurobindo's "Human Cycle" **51.3-4.**291

REVIEW

Harmless Souls by W. J. Johnson **51.1-2.**187

Joshi, Milind S.

(The) *Bhramaragītā* of Brehedevakavi From Gujarat **60.1-2.**67

Joshi, Veneemadhava Shastri B.

Sanskrit Poets and a Few Challenges **56.**125

Kaluskar, Shweta S.

Ahalyā-śatakam : A Literary Study **57.**109
Evaluation of *Dattātreyopaniṣad* **59.3-4.**21
Māṇikyasundaraśri's Sattarabhedīpūjākathā. **51.3-4.**245
(The) Sarvopaniṣad : A Study. **52.3-4.**207
Vedatrayi Or *Vedacatuṣmayi* ? **53.**11

REVIEW

Nartananirṇaya (critically edited and translated with commentary)
Volume II by Prof. R. Sathyanaranyana **53.**168

Kamala, K.

Sanskrit Academy, Hyderabad. **54.**77

Kantawala, Pragna S.

REVIEW

Vedic Mathematics by Kenneth R.Willimas 54.140

Kantawala, S.G.

REVIEWS

Bhoga-Kārikā of Sadyojyoti - with the commentary of Aghora Śiva, edited by W.A. Borody 56.217

(An) Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles, Volume six, Part II, edited by Dr. V.P.Bhatt 54.139

Indra - Vṛtra Myth and Tectonic Upheavals: by P.V.Pathak 53.159

(The) Paippalāda - saṁhitā of the Atharvaveda, Vol. I, Ed. by Dipak Bhattacharya 51.1-2.183

Rivers in Hindu Mythology and Ritual by Dr. S.K. Lal 58.3-4.277

In Search of the Cradle of Civilization (New Light on Ancient India) by George Fenerstein, Subhash Kak and David Frawley 52.1-2.158

Vaidikatva in Indian Philosophy and Religion, Ed. Dr.S.G. Mudgal 51.3-4.330

Katira Dipesh, Kulkarni Malhar, Dharukar Chinmay, and Oak Rajshree

Issues of Errors in Usage of Adjectives in the Syntax of Modern Sanskrit 61.127

Khare, Ambarish

On The Two Manuscripts of the *Mahāśāntipaddhati* of the *Atharvaveda* Tradition 61.19

Kher, Ramesh

OBITUARY

(Dr.) Shantaram Ganesh Moghe 51.1-2.177

Kolhatkar, Madhavi

Lakṣmī: Originally A Marked Animal 62.01

(A) Note on Śaṇkara's Commentary on the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 2.13.1 .... 54.17

On Two Etymologies in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* 58.1-2.27

Kulkarni Malhar, Ajotikar Anuja & Ajotikar Tanuja

Derivation of Declension of *Asmad* and *Yuṣmad* in Jainendra Grammar 60.1-2.41

Kulkarni Malhar and Bhide Prasad

Constituent Structure in Sanskrit Lexicography with Special Reference to The Deccan College Dictionary Project 62.149

Kulkarni Malhar and Dangarikar Chaitali

Helārāja's Description of Ontological Semantics Based on Bhartṛhari's Ontology 59.1-2.11

Kulkarni Malhar, Dharukar Chinmay, Katira Dipesh and Oak Rajshree

Issues of Errors in Usage of Adjectives in the Syntax of Modern Sanskrit 61.127

Kulkarni, Nirmala R.

Origin of Marriage: Analysis of Sanskrit Myths 56.11

Kulkarni, V.M.

Dr. Nandi's Observation on *Haraṇa* (Plagiarism) 58.3-4.207

Kumar, Bimalendra

Common Elements of Therāvāda and Mahāyāna Buddhism in *Suhṛllekha* of Ācārya Nāgārjuna 51.1-2.19

Lakhani Sunita J. and Sen Shushmita

Toraṇa Architecture of Gujarat 59.1-2.85

Levitt, Stephan Hillyer

"(The) *Rāmāyaṇa* in a Single Verse": the *Ekaśloki - Rāmāyaṇa* 58.3-4.169

What does the title '*Rāmāyaṇa*' Mean? 57.41

Maheshwari G. C. & Pandey, Ramanath

Oriental Concept of Work and Ethics: Implications for Modern Management 61.157

Mahulikar, Gauri

Law of Inheritance and Indian Women 56.59

(The) ṚV. IV 40.5 *Haṁsavatī ṚC*- A Study 51.1-2.01

Trita Āptya - A Mysterous Figure 54.01

Majumdar, Rani

Two Streams of Narrative in The Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* 52.1-2.19

Mehta, Shuchita

(The) Concept of *Amṛta* in the Upaniṣads 56.21

Mishra, Arun Ranjan

(A) *Vratakathā* in *Padmapurāṇa* vis-a-vis *Meghadūtam* 58.3-4.195

Mishra, Deviprasad

(The) *Sūryaśataka* and its Commentaries 52.3-4.265

Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍe
The Problem of their Identity 54.85

Moghe, S. G.

REVIEWS

Literary Gems from Sanskrit Literature (A Study of Rare Manuscripts)

by Dr. Siddharth Yashwant Wakankar 51.1-2.193

Reconstruction of Śaṅkha Likhita-Smṛti by Dr. A.D. Thakar 51.3-4.338

Mohapatra, Sachidananda N.

Concept of *Vaiśvānara* in the *Ṛgveda* 59.3-4.01

Concept of *Vrata* in Vedic Literature 58.3-4.129

From Vedic Rudra to Puranic Śiva 60.3-4.01

Mother Goddesses in Vedic Literature 62.19

Moliya, Mansukh

(The) Deviations of Vedic Name Nābhānediṣṭha in Puranic Text 59.1-2.01

(The) Portrayal of The Character of Jaṭāyu in The *Rāmāyaṇa* 52.1-2.11

Naikar, Chandramouli S.

Rājayoga - The Supreme Science 59.3-4.55

Nair, T. P. Sankaran Kutty

Mūṣikavaṁśa Mahākāvya by Atula - A Study 57.127

Nanavati, R.I.

Unexplored Avenues in Classical Sanskrit Literature 51.1-2.139

OBITUARY
(Prof. Dr.) Tapasvi Nandi 59.1-2.187

Nandi, Tapasvi

REVIEW
(A) Critical Review of "औचित्य की दृष्टि से भवभूति के नाटकों का समीक्षात्मक अध्ययन" by Dr. Ajay Kumar Jha 52.1-2.163

Narsalay, Madhavi R.

(The) *Sarpas, Sarpa- People* and the *Sarpavidyā:* A Probe Into Sanskrit Texts 58.1-2.33

Nath, Jyotish

On the Austerities of an Individual Śambūka of the *Rāmāyaṇa* 52.3-4.235

Natu, Amruta

Manuscript Libraries and Collections in India During the Early British Rule 58.1-2.87

Nighoskar, Yogini G.

REVIEWS

(The) Buddhist Pilgrimage by Duncan Forbes 52.3-4.339

(The) Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, A Mahāyāna Text by D.T. Suzuki 52.3-4.338

(The) Literarure of the Personalists of Early Buddhism by Bhikshu Thich Thien Chau 52.1-2.181

Samaṇ Suttaṁ, Ed. by Sagarmal Jain 51.1-2.203

(The) Vimalakīrti Sūtra : From the Chinese Version by Kumārajīva, Translated by Burton Waston 52.3-4.339

Oak Rajshree, Katira Dipesh, Kulkarni Malhar and Dharukar Chinmay

Issues of Errors in Usage of Adjectives in the Syntax of Modern Sanskrit 61.127

Ojha, Dinesh Kumar

(The) Role and Significance of German Indologists of the Nineteenth Century : A Study 56.135

(The) Study of Sanskrit by Western Scholars of the Nineteenth Century: Its Impact on Indian Historiography 55.99

Trends of Modern Historiography: It's Impact on Early Indology 54.67

Panda, Narasingha Charan

Concept of *Avatāra* in the *Kūrma Purāṇa* 52.3-4.251

Concept of Medical Profession in Vedic Literature: A Critique 59.3-4.13

Māra In the Buddhist Literature 55.15

Panda, Rabindra Kumar

Bhavabhūti-Citations in the *Rasārṇavasudhākara*	58.1-2.47
Kālidāsa- Citations in the *Kavikaustubha:* An Appraisal	53.39
Kālidāsa- Citations in the *Rasakalikā* of Rudrabhaṭṭa	56.101
Modern Sanskrit Poets on Russia and Russian Leaders	51.3-4.277
Sanskrit Poetics as a Human Science	54.101
Some Aspects of Logical Grammar	51.1-2.47
Some Aspects of *Nyāya* Epistemology	52.3-4.241
Some Models for Doctoral Research in Manuscriptology	58.3-4.235
Some Noteworthy Sanskrit *Mahākāvyas* of Twentieth Century (1970-2000 A.D)	52.1-2.85
Sudāmacaritam of Puṇḍarīkākṣa Miśra: A Study	55.89

REVIEWS

Avatāravādāvalī, (Part II) Ed. by Goswamy Shyama Manohar	52.1-2.179
(An) Introduction to Metaphysics, Ed. by Martin Heidegger	51.1-2.209
Sudhāsindhormadhye by Harshadev Madhav, Edited and translated in Gujarati by Shruti Harshadev	52.1-2.168
Vyastarāgam by Ācārya Digambara Mahāpātra	51.3-4.340

Pandey, Ramanath

(The) Bodhisattva Ideal and Globalization on The Basis of *Bodhicaryāvatāra*	60.1-2.31

REVIEWS

(The) Bodhicaryāvatāra of Śāntideva Entering the Path of Enlightment, Trans. by Marion L. Matics	59.3-4.128
Hatyakāri Kaḥ? - (Who is the murderer?) : by Narayana Dash	53.166
(The) Laghusiddhāntakaumudī of Varadarāja, A Primer of Pāṇini's Grammar, Volume I, Trans. & Elucidated with an introduction by Kanshi Ram	60.1-2.143
Śrī Śrībhaktirasāmṛtasindhu of Rūpagosvāmī, II Volume, Edited with Translations. By Premalata Sharma	54.153
Tarkasaṁgrahaḥ of Annambhaṭṭa - with *Svopajña-Dīpikā,* Hindi Translation and Commentary by Kansiram & Sandhya Rathore	58.1-2.112

Pandey, Ramanath & Maheshwari, G. C.

Oriental Concept of Work and Ethics: Implications for Modern Management	61.157

Pandya, Devika

Girinagar Rock Inscriptions in Classical Sanskrit Language 54.39

Sītā-Rāmī 52.1-2.47

Pandya, Kartik

Śikṣāpatrī - An Essence of Ethical Knowledge 59.1-2.131

Some Relevant Aspects and Applications of *Vāstuśāstra* in Modern Context with Special Reference to the Urban Habitat 61.143

Pandya, Nehal J.

Paṇḍita Dīnānātha Bhaṭṭa and his Contribution to Sanskrit Literature 53.105

Pandya, S.M.

Praśasti- title ascribed to the Sanskrit Poets and Scholars of Gujarat 51.3-4.237

Pataskar, Bhagyalata A.

Compounding From Historical Viewpoint 59.1-2.53

(A) Note on a Team *'Śabdakarman'* in the P. 1.4.52 .... 57.17

Reconstruction of Vyāḍi's Theory of Word and Meaning 51.1-2.29

Three Commentaries on Words in Isolation: A Comparative Study 62.65

Yāska's Reflections On The "Meaning of a Word" 53.17

Patel, Ambika & Bagchi, Sharmila

(A) Prologue to Buddhist Written Records/Manuscripts from Gujarat and Their Conservation 61.63

Pathak, Meena P.

Āryavasudhārādhāraṇīvidyā - A work on Buddhist *Tantra* 60.3-4.53

Evolution of the Schools of Early Buddhism 61.29

(The) Tenets of *Sāṅkhya* Philosophy in the *Vāyupurāṇa* 56.67

REVIEW

पातञ्जलयोग (अष्टाङ्गयोग), पदच्छेद, अन्वय और भाषाटीका सहितः Compiled and Published by Surendra Shankar Anand 55.127

Pathak, Pramod V.

Vedic Entities and Identities (Ethno-Archaeology of the Vedic-Period) (The M. S. University Oriental Series No. 25). 60.1-2.1-106; 60.3-4.107-222

Pathak, R.D.

Activities & Contribution of Shri Aurobindo- During his stay in Baroda 53.87

Poudyal, Sindhu

Via-Negative in The Upaniṣads 62.27

Prajapati, Sweta

Baroda *Vijñaptipatra:* A Socio-Historical Portrait of Baroda City 61.111

'Kavipuṁskokila' Hari Dutt Sharma and His Creative Works 53.115

Kristubhāgavatam: A Sanskrit Epic On the Life of Jesus Christ 56.145

Modern Sanskrit Literature on Children 58.3-4.249

Prabhāvatī-Pradyumna-nāṭakam : An Unpublished Sanskrit Play 55.51

Raghudeva Bhaṭṭācārya and His Unknown Works 51.1-2.65

REVIEWS

Kāvyaprakāśiya-Sudhāsāgaraṭīkāsamikṣā. (A Critical Study of the *Sudhāsāgara* on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*) by Sugyan Kumar Mohanty 52.1-2.171

Mānasandeśam by Pt. Digambara Mahapatra 51.1-2.211

Reflections on Creative Writing by W.K. Lele 54.149

(A) Study of Samudrabandha's Commentary on Alaṅkārasarvasva by C. Narayanan 51.3-4.342

Prajapati Sweta and Shah Pragnesh

Environmental Insights in Sanskrit Literature 59.1-2.163

Prasad, Narayan

On Reconstruction of the Dhātupāṭha of Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* 55.41

Treatment of कित् ङित् प्रकरणम् (P.1.2.1-26) in the Post-pāṇinian Systems of Sanskrit Grammar 58.3-4.147

Purohit, Daxa

Carita - Kāvyas in The Modern Sanskrit Literature on Women 59.1-2.145

Rajesh, S.V.

Regional Chalcolithic Traditions of Gujarat: A Literature Based Study 52.3-4.221

Rao V.G.

(The) Vedic River Sarasvatī 51.1-2.15

Rathod, Dilip

Sculpture from Thanasavali 53.71

Rohlman Elizabeth Mary

Manuscripts of The *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* in The Archives of Western India 59.1-2.151

Textual Authority, Accretion and Suspicion : The Legacy of Horace Hayman Wilson in Western Studies of The Purāṇās 52.1-2.55

Sabhapandit, Subhra

(The) Historical Development of the Concept of *Lakṣaṇa* 59.3-4.69

Sarma, Sreeramula Rajeswara

(The) Makers, Designers and Patrons of Sanskrit Astronomical Instruments -An Alphabetical Directory of Names and Related Inscriptions 60.1-2.75

Sanskrit Astronomical Instruments in the Maharaja Sayajirao Universityof Baroda (The M.S. University Oriental Series No. 24.) 58.1-2.1-46

Satyamurti

Sanskrit Prosody, Linguistics & Music 59.1-2.119

Savalia R.T.

Lord Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, The Life-Breath of Indian Painting 52.1-2.113

Sen, Saswati

REVIEWS

Hindu Scriptures, Edited with Translations by Dominic Goodall 52.1-2.182

Sundar Kāṇḍa, Tra. by Swami Satyananda Saraswati and Shri Ma 51.1-2.215

Sen Shushmita and Lakhani Sunita J.

Toraṇa Architecture of Gujarat 59.1-2.85

Shah, Nilanjana S.

Usages of Bhaṭṭi Quoted but Unacknowledged by Puruṣottama 51.1-2.37

Shah Pragnesh and Prajapati Sweta

Environmental Insights in Sanskrit Literature 59.1-2.163

Shah, Urmi

Śulka in The Indian Tradition 59.1-2.35

Ultimate Reality and Meaning in the Indian War Science 56.29

Shastri, H.G.

Dates given in the *Lekhapaddhati* : A Critical Study.	52.3-4.279

Sheshadri, K. G.

Ancient Experts on Animal Bird Language as Gleaned From Ancient Indian Literature	61.07
Ancient Works on *Rājya Tantra* Gleaned from Maharshi Yājñavalkya's Text	62.101
Lightning Protection and Rituals in Ancient Indian Texts	59.3-4.27
(The) Process of Lightening Phenomenon As Described in Ancient Indian Literature	60.3-4.11

Singh, Ram Nandan

Decline of Buddhism in India	56.41

Sumant, Shilpa

Iconography of Nṛsiṁha Represented in The *Karmapañjikā* of the Paippalādins	60.1-2.57
Vardhāpanavidhi in The *Atharvaveda* Tradition	62.49

Swain, Braja Kishore

Ethics in Sanskrit Literature	59.1-2•.105
Smārta - Varṇāśrama and Social Mobility	57.33
State - management in Ancient India: (With Special reference to Sovereignity and Finance).	53.55

Syed, Renate

Bāṇa's References to "Terracotta Chessmen" and "Discourses on War" in the *Harṣacarita*	58.1-2.69
Early Terracottas from Kannauj Chessmen?	56.75

Thaker, Jayant P.

REVIEWS

Ahiṁsā Anekānta and Jainism :Edited by Tara Sethia	52.3-4.335
Āṇaṁdā (Ānanda - gītā) of Ānandatilaka, Edited with Hindi Translation by Harivallabh Bhayani and Dr. (Mrs.) Pritam Singhvi	51.3-4.329

Dohā-pāhuḍa of Rāmasiṁha Muni (Restored Text with Sanskrit Chāyā and Gujarati Translation) Ed. by H.C. Bhayani, R.M. Shah and Dr. Pritam Singhvi 51.3-4.329

Jaina-Darśana Me Śraddhā (Samyag- Darśana), Matijñāna Aur Kevalajñāna kī Vibhāvanā (in Hindī) by Nagina J. Shah, translated from Gujarātī by Dr. Sanatkumar Rangatiya 52.3-4.337

Jināgamon ki Mūla Bhāṣā (The Original Language of Jaina Canonical Texts): Editors - Acharya Vijayashilchandrasuri and Dr. K. R. Chandra 52.1-2.157

Sadayavatsa - kathānakam of Harṣavardhana Gaṇin, Ed. by Dr. Mrs. Pritam Singhvi 51.1-2.181

Taraṅgavatī of Pādaliptācārya : Hindi translation of an ancient abridgement : Translated by Dr. Pritam Singhvi 52.3-4.336

Trikha, Rajkumari

Karma - Theory in the *Mahābhārata* and its Relevance to Modern Society 54.19

Management Techniques in the *Mahābhārata* (with special reference to Human resource management) 58.3-4.173

Therapeutic Aspects of Meditation 62.107

Ushanas, Egbert Richter

(The) Vedic Dialogue- Hymn of Purūravas and Urvaśī 58.1-2.01

Vaidya, Uma C.

Construction Chemicals in Ancient and Modern India - - A Comparative Study 54.93

Varma, Satyavrat

Acharya Chandan Muni and His Contribution to Sanskrit Literature 54.113

Jānakījīvanam : A Poem with a Difference 62.133

On the Origin of Some Episodes in the *Thai Rāmāyaṇa* 59.3-4.101

Pandit Naval Kishore Kāṅkara and his works: An Appraisal 60.1-2.113

Pandit Satya Narayana Shastri and his *Rāmāśvamedhīyam* 56.187

Rāmāyaṇa Episodes in the *Rāmacaritābdhiratnam* - A Study in Innovations 58.3-4.223

Vartak, P.V.

Some Aspects of Medical Sciences In The *Śāstras* of Ancient India. 52.3-4.191

Vyas, Nitin J. ....

REVIEW

Introduction to Comparative Philosophy by P.T. Raju 57.158

OBITUARY

(Prof. Dr.) Harsiddha M. Joshi 51.3-4.326

Vyas, R. T.

REVIEWS

Beyond Orientalism, The Work of Wilhelm Halbfass and its Impact on Indian and Cross-cultural Studies, edited by Eli Franco, Karin Preisendanz 56.218

(The) Doctrine of Karma by Yuvraj Krishan 52.1-2.160

"(The) Eight Darlings of Indian Aesthetics" by Dr. Amrit M. Upadhyaya 62.191

Face to Face With Shri Ramana Maharshi : Enchanting and Uplifting Reminiscences of 160 Persons, Compiled and edited by Prof. Laxmi Nardain 56.219

GAṆEŚA : Unravelling an Enigma by Yuvraj Krishan 51.1-2.185

(The) Indian Mind: Essentials of Indian Philosophy and Culture, edited by Charles Moore 57.153

Mathematics and Medicine in Sanskrit, Edited by Wujastyk 59.1-2.194

Nāgārjuna In Context : Mahāyāna Buddhism and Early Indian Culture by Joseph Walser 57.155

(A) Pāda Index and Reverse Pāda Index to Early Pāli Canonical Texts: Suttanipāta, Dhammapada, Theragāthā and Therīgāthā by Moriichi Yamazaki and Yumi Ousaka 51.3-4.331

(The) Philosophy of the Upaniṣads : by Paul Deussen 51.3-4.332

Vyas, Yogini H.

(The) Contribution of Women in The Vedas 52.1-2.01

Religion and Philosophy of the *Ṛgveda* 58.1-2.19

Wadekar, M.L.

(The) *Arkaprakāśa* of Rāvaṇa - A Rare work on Medicinal extracts, useful for curing Diseases 60.1-2.109

Aurobindo's Sanskrit Commentary on the First *Mantra* of the *Kaivalyopaniṣad.* 53.95

Classical Sanskrit Literature and Linguistics - Retrospect and Prospects 52.3-4.311

Commentaries on the *Saundaryalaharī* of Śaṅkarācārya 61.89

Contribution of the Oriental Institute, MSU, Baroda to the Buddhist Studies 60.3-4.67

Dinakara's Commentary on the *Meghadūtam* of Kālidāsa 59.3-4.95

(The) *Gopīnāthasaptaśatī* of Gopīnātha Miśra
(The M.S.University Oriental Series No. 21) 52.1-2.1-32; 52.3-4.33-69; 53.i-xix

(The) Pictures From The *Bhāgavatapurāṇam* - Their Description And Textual Co-Relation 59.1-2.73

Premānand and his Gujarati Pauranic *Ākhyānas* -with special Reference to the *Sudāmācaritra* 58.3-4.211

Śārīratātparyasaṁgraha of Rāmacandra Paṇḍita 51.3-4.255

Some Aspects of *Vāstuśāstra* Reflected in the Vedas 56.01

Some Observations on Interpreting the *Saundaryalaharī* of Śaṅkarācārya 57.69

Some Problems in Translating and Interpreting the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa.* 54.59

Some Remarks on Vedic Interpretation in the Light of the *Ṛjubhāṣyam* 51.1-2.09

Works attributed to Kālidāsa (With Special Reference to Two *Sarasvatīstotras*) 55.31

OBITUARIES

(Prof. Dr.) Anant Ganesh Javadekar 51.3-4.323
(Shri) Jayant Premshankar Thaker 56.221
(Prof. Dr.) S.G. Kantawala 62.193
(Dr.) Keshvaram K. Shastri 54.137
(Prof. Dr.) Labhshankar Mohanlal Joshi 52.3-4.333

REVIEWS

Advaita Vedānta, An Introduction - by Arvind Sharma 52.1-2.165

(The) Bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa (Oldest Devanāgarī version) Part I (*Skandhas* 1 to 9) and Part - II (*Skandhas* 10 to 12), edited critically by Prof. Dr. Keshavram Kashiram Shastree, ... 51.3-4.335

Jambūdvīpa as Asia and Medical Adventures in Śrīmad Bhāgavatam, by Prof. Dr. Vinod Purani 51.3-4.336

Dharmaśāstra - A Link between Tradition and Modernity by Prof. Dr. Braja Kishore Swain 53.163

Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhavam with Śiśubodhinī Commentary by Sarvajñavanamuni 51.1-2.200

Mahābhārata meṁYogavidyā, (महाभारत में योगविद्या) by Dr. Rajkumari Trikha 53.160

Mahāsubhāṣitasaṅgrahaḥ, Compiled by Ludwik Sternbach, edited by S. Bhaskaran Nair 55.125

Mantra, Hearing the Divine in India and America by Harold G. Coward and David J. Goa 57.156

Manusmṛti with Sanskrit Text, English Translation, Introduction & Explanatory Notes, Ed. by Rabindra Kumar Panda 52.3-4.340

Minoru Hara: Pāśupata Studies, - edited by Jun Takashima 53.162

(A) New Approach to Puruṣa-sūktam-(A Hymn About the Supreme Being)-With Raṅganāthamunikṛtabhāṣyam-An exposition, by T. Venkatacharya 55.123

(The) Philosophy of Śrī Vallabhācārya by Prof. Dr. M. V. Joshi 61.181

सूत्रधारमण्डनभारद्वाजविरचितं वास्तुमण्डनम् - (भाषाटीकासहितम्)
अनुवादक - श्रीकृष्ण ''जुगनु'' 59.1-2.193

Udayasundarīkathā of Soḍḍhala, ed. with Introduction and English Translation and annotations by Dr. Sudarshan Kumar Sharma 59.1-2.191

Vedāntavārttikam by Acharya Digamber Mahapatra 52.1-2.165

Vedic Science and Technology by Dr. Sadasiva Biswal and Dr. Bidyut Lata Ray 58.3-4.278

Wakankar, Siddharth

(The) Extent of *Śilpa* as described in Sanskrit Literature 53.133

Śatapraśnottarī of Ayodhyāprasāda
(The M.S.University Oriental Series No. 23) 57.1-30

Trend-setter Sanskrit Scholar Mahārāja Mānsinh. 52.3-4.297

OBITUARIES

(Prof. Dr.) Mukund L. Wadekar 62.194
(Prof. Dr.) Vaman Mahadev Kulkarni 59.1-2.184

REVIEWS

Catalogue of Manuscripts : Calicut University Sanskrit Series No 1,
General Editor- Dr. M.S.Menon 51.3-4.337

Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṁśam with Salakṣaṇā Commentary by Sarvajñavanamuni 51.1-2.202

Yadav, Anupam

REVIEW

Space Time and Consciousness: The Fifth Dimension
by Bhaskar Vyas and Rajani Vyas 54.143

II

TITLE INDEX

Acharya Chandan Muni and His Contribution to Sanskrit Literature
-Satyavrat Varma 54.113

Activities & Contribution of Shri Aurobindo- During his stay in Baroda
- R.D. Pathak 53.87

Ahalyāśatakam (A Century of Verses on Ahalyā's Life)
-Jaydev Jani 57.81

Ahalyā-śatakam : A Literary Study
-Shweta S. Kaluskar 57.109

Ancient Ėxperts on Animal Bird Language as Gleaned From
Ancient Indian Literature
-K. G. Sheshadri 61.07

Ancient Works on *Rājya Tantra* Gleaned from Maharshi Yājñyavalkya's Text
-K. G. Sheshadri 62.101

(The) *Arkaprakāśa* of Rāvaṇa - A Rare work on Medicinal extracts,
Useful for curing Diseases
-M.L. Wadekar 60.1-2.109

Āryavasudhārādhāraṇīvidyā - A work on Buddhist *Tantra*
-Meena P. Pathak 60.3-4.53

Ashoka's *Dharma:* Its Interpretations and Paradigms as Gleaned From
Rock Edicts
-G. C. Chauhan 61.49

Āśumṛtakaparīkṣā : A Study from Modern Angle
-Asawari Uday Bapat 56.35

Aurobindo's Sanskrit Commentary on the First *Mantra* of the
Kaivalyopaniṣad.
-M.L. Wadekar 53.95

Bāṇa's References to "Terracotta Chessmen" and "Discourses on War" in
the *Harṣacarita*
-Renate Syed 58.1-2.69

Baroda *Vijñaptipatra:* A Socio-Historical Portrait of Baroda City
-Sweta Prajapati 61.111

Bhavabhūti-Citations in the *Rasārṇavasudhākara*
-Rabindra Kumar Panda 58.1-2.47

(The) *Bhramaragītā* of Brehedevakavi From Gujarat
-Milind S. Joshi 60.1-2.67

(The) Bodhisattva Ideal and Globalization on The basis of *Bodhicaryāvatāra*
-Ramanath Pandey 60.1-2.31

(The) *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 5.2.1-3 - A Critique
-S. Jena 61.01

Carita - Kāvyas in The Modern Sanskrit Literature on Women
-Daxa Purohit 59.1-2.145

Classical Sanskrit Literature and Linguistics - Retrospect and Prospects
-M.L.Wadekar 52.3-4.311

Commentaries on the *Saundaryalaharī* of Śaṅkarācārya
-M.L.Wadekar 61.89

Common Elements of Therāvāda and Mahāyāna Buddhism in *Suhṛllekha*
of Ācārya Nāgārjuna
-Bimalendra Kumar 51.1-2.19

(A) Comparative Study of Some Technical Terms & Definitions of the
Prayogaratnamālāvyākaraṇa and the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*
-Ranjan Chakravarty 61.103

Compounding From Historical Viewpoint
-Bhagyalata A. Pataskar 59.1-2*.53

(The) Concept of *Amṛta* in the Upaniṣads
-Shuchita Mehta 56.21

Concept of *Avatāra* in the *Kūrma Purāṇa*
-Narasingha Charan Panda 52.3-4.251

Concept of Medical Profession in Vedic Literature: A Critique
-N. C. Panda 59.3-4.13

Concept of *Rajas* in the Vedic Literature
- Sukumar Chattopadhyay 53.01

Concept of *Vaiśvānara* in the *Ṛgveda*
-Sachidananda N. Mohapatra 59.3-4.01

Concept of *Vrata* in Vedic Literature
-Sachidananda N. Mohapatra 58.3-4.129

Constituent Structure in Sanskrit Lexicography with Special Reference to
The Deccan College Dictionary Project
-Prasad Bhide and Malhar Kulkarni 62.149

Construction Chemicals in Ancient and Modern India -
A Comparative Study
-Uma C. Vaidya 54.93

Contribution of Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa 'Bhaḍa' to Ritualistic Doctrine
-Sharmila Bagchi 52.3-4.283

Contribution of the Oriental Institute, MSU, Baroda to the Buddhist Studies
-M. L. Wadekar 60.3-4.67

(The) Contribution of Women in The Vedas
-Yogini Vyas 52.1-2.01

Dakṣiṇādāna - A Socio-Historical Study
-Alka Bakre 56.49

Dates given in the *Lekhapaddhati* : A Critical Study
- H.G.Shastri 52.3-4.279

Dinakara's Commentry on the *Meghadūtam* of Kālidāsa
-M. L. Wadekar 59.3-4.95

Decline of Buddhism in India
-Ram Nandan Singh 56.41

Derivation of Declension of *Asmad* and *Yuṣmad* in Jainendra Grammar ....
-Malhar Kulkarni, Anuja Ajotikar and Tanuja Ajotikar 60.1-2.41

(The) Deviations of Vedic Name Nābhānediṣṭha in Puranic Text
-Mansukh Moliya 59.1-2.01

Dharmasaṁgraha - An Ancient Buddhist Text - A Bird's Eye View
-Usha M. Brahmachari 61.75

Dr. Nandi's Observation on *Haraṇa* (Plagiarism) ....
-V.M. Kulkarni 58.3-4.207

Dvīpavyavasthā : Evidence of Awareness of the Modern Discoveries
During The Early Colonial Period
- Shreenanda L. Bapat 51.1-2.95

Early Terracottas from Kanauj Chessmen?
-Renate Syed 56.75

Education for Human Excellence - *Vedānta* in Practice
- Milind M. Beedkar 55.109

Environmental Insights in Sanskrit Literature
-Sweta Prajapati and Pragnesh Shah 59.1-2.163

Ethics in Sanskrit Literature
-Braja Kishore Swain 59.1-2.105

Evaluation of *Dattātreyopaniṣad*
-Shweta S.Kaluskar 59.3-4.21

Evolution of the Schools of Early Buddhism
-Meena P. Pathak 61.29

(The) Extent of *Śilpa* as described in Sanskrit Literature ....
-Siddharth Wakankar 53.133

From Vedic Rudra to Puranic Śiva
-Sachidananda N. Mohapatra 60.3-4.01

Girinagar Rock Inscriptions in Classical Sanskrit Language ....
-Devika Pandya 54.39

Helārāja's Description of Ontological Semantics Based on Bhartṛhari's Ontology
-Chaitali Dangarikar and Malhar Kulkarni 59.1-2.11

(The) Historical Development of the Concept of *Lakṣaṇa*
-Subhra Sabhapandit 59.3-4.69

Iconography of Nṛsiṃha Represented in The *Karmapañjikā* of the Paippalādins
-Shilpa Sumant 60.1-2.57

Is Neglect of Testimony Justified?
-Biswanath Jena 57.57

Issues of Errors in Usage of Adjectives in the Syntax of Modern Sanskrit
-Malhar Kulkarni, Chinmay Dharurkar, Dipesh Katira and Rajshree Oak 61.127

Jānakījīvanam : A Poem with a Difference
-Satyavrat Varma 62.133

Jayadev's Concept of śrī Rādhā and its impact on the Orissan Culture
-S. Jena 59.3-4.87

Kālidāsa- Citations in the *Kavikaustubha:* An Appraisal
-Rabindra Kumar Panda 53.39

Kālidāsa- Citations in the *Rasakalikā* of Rudrabhaṭṭa
-Rabindra Kumar Panda 56.101

Karma - Theory in the *Mahābhārata* and its Relevance to Modern Society
-Rajkumari Trikha 54.19

'*Kavipuṁskokila*' Hari Dutt Sharma and His Creative Works
-Sweta Prajapati 53.115

Khaṇḍakāvya- A *Sāṅketikārthakāvya*
-Bagchi Sharmila 52.1-2.71

Kristubhāgavatam : A Sanskrit Epic On the Life of Jesus Christ
-Sweta Prajapati 56.145

Lakṣmī: Originally A Marked Animal
-Madhavi Kolhatkar 62.01

Lalitavistara - A Biographical History of Buddha's Life
-Sharmila Bagchi 62.113

Law of Inheritance and Indian Women
-Gauri Mahulikar 56.59

Lightning Protection and Rituals in Ancient Indian Texts
-K. G. Sheshadri 59.3-4.27

Literature and Linguistics
- Vivek M. Bhat 53.79

Lord Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, The Life-Breath of Indian Painting
- R.T. Savalia 52.1-2.113

(The) Makers, Designers and Patrons of Sanskrit Astronomical Instruments
-An Alphabetical Directory of Names and Related Inscriptions
-Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma 60.1-2.75

Management Techniques in the *Mahābhārata* (with special reference to human resource management)
-Rajkumari Trikha 58.3-4.173

Māṇikyasundarasūri's Sattarabhedīpūjākathā
-Shweta S. Kaluskar 51.3-4.245

Manuscript Libraries and Collections in India During the Early British Rule
-Amruta Natu 58.1-2.87

Manuscripts of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* in The Archives of Western India
-Elizabeth Mary Rohlman 59.1-2.151

Māra In the Buddhist Literature
-Narasingha Charan Panda 55.15

Modern Sanskrit Literature on Children
-Sweta Prajapati **58.3-4.**249

Modern Sanskrit Poets on Russia and Russian Leaders
-Rabindra Kumar Panda **51.3-4.**277

Mother Goddesses in Vedic Literature
- Sachidananda N. Mohapatra 62.19

Motivation - An Integral Aspect of *Vedānta*
- Milind M. Beedkar **52.3-4.**303

Mūṣikavaṁśa Mahākāvya by Atula - A Study
-T. P. Sankaran Kutty Nair 57.127

Nature of *Rasa* in Kuntaka's *Vakrokti*-Theory
- Nina Bhavnagari **58.1-2.**79

(A) Note on An Unknown Inscribed Metal Image of Padmāvatī in Jain Temple, Osian
-Devendra Handa **60.1-2.**55

(A) Note on a Term *Śabdakarman'* in the P.1.4.52
-Bhagyalata A. Pataskar 57.17

(A) Note on Śaṅkara's Commentary on the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 2.13.1
-Madhavi Kolhatkar 54.17

Observance of Agreement and Brahmbhatt Caste (A Historical Perspective)
- K.C.Barot 55.83

On Reconstruction of the Dhātupāmha of Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*
- Narayan Prasad 55.41

On the Austerities of an Individual Śambūka of the *Rāmāyaṇa*
-Jyotish Nath **52.3-4.**235

On the Origin of Some Episodes in the *Thai Rāmāyaṇa*
-Satyavrat Varma **59.3-4.**101

On the Two Manuscripts of the *Mahāśāntipaddhati* of the *Atharvaveda* Tradition
-Ambarish Khare 61.19

On Two Etymologies in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*
-Madhavi Kolhatkar **58.1-2.**27

Oriental Concept of Work and Ethics: Implications for Modern Management
-G. C. Maheshwari & Ramanath Pandey 61.157

Origin of Marriage: Analysis of Sanskrit Myths
-Nirmala R. Kulkarni 56.11

Paṇḍita Dīnānātha Bhaṭṭa and his Contribution to Sanskrit Literature
-Nehal J. Pandya 53.105

Pandit Naval Kishore Kāṅkara and his works: an Appraisal
-Satyavrat Varma 60.1-2.113

Pandit Satya Narayana Shastri and his *Rāmāśvamedhīyam*
-Satyavrat Varma 56.187

(The) Pictures From The *Bhāgavatapurāṇam* - Their Description And Textual Co-Relation
-M.L. Wadekar 59.1-2.73

Polytheism, Monism and Rational Temper in Philosophical Traditions in Gujarati Literature
-Harsiddha M. Joshi 51.1-2.109

(The) Portrayal of The Character of Jaṭāyu in The *Rāmāyaṇa*
-Mansukh Moliya 52.1-2.11

Prabhāvati-Pradyumna-nāṭakam : An Unpublished Sanskrit Play
-Sweta Prajapati 55.51

Prapañca-sāra ascribed to Śaṅkara
- Arjunwadkar Krishna S. 51.3-4.223

Praśasti- title ascribed to the Sanskrit Poets and Scholars of Gujarat
- S.M.Pandya 51.3-4.237

Premānanda and his Gujarati Pauranic *Ākhyānas* -with special Reference to the *Sudāmācaritra*
-M. L. Wadekar 58.3-4.211

(The) Process of Lightening Phenomenon As Described in Ancient Indian Literature
-K. G. Sheshadri 60.3-4.11

(A) Prologue to Buddhist Written Records/Manuscripts from Gujarat and their Conservation
-Ambika Patel & Sharmila Bagchi 61.63

Pūrvaraṅga in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and Symbolism
- Asawari V. Bhat 55.09

Raghudeva Bhaṭṭācārya and His Unknown Works
-Sweta Prajapati 51.1-2.65

Rājayoga - The Supreme Science
-Chandramouli S. Naikar 59.3-4.55

Rāmāyaṇa Episodes in the *Rāmacaritābdhiratnam* - a Study in Innovations
-Satyavrat Varma 58.3-4.223

'(The) *Rāmāyaṇa* in a single verse': the *Ekaśloki* - *Rāmāyaṇa*
-Stephan Hillyer Levitt 58.3-4.169

Ranakpur Temples: A Treasure House of Art & Architecture
- Pranav Dev 52.1-2.35

Reconstruction of Vyāḍi's Theory of Word and Meaning
-Bhagyalata Pataskar 51.1-2.29

Regional Chalcolithic Traditions of Gujarat : A Literature Based Study
-Rajesh S.V. 52.3-4.221

Religion and Philosophy of the *Ṛgveda*
-Yogini H. Vyas 58.1-2.19

(A) Review of *Karmayoga (Kriyāyoga)* Narrated In the *Matsya Purāṇa*
-Jaya Chemburkar 57.27

Riddles and their Resolutions in the Mythology of Śiva
-S. Jena 58.3-4.185

Ritualistic Significance of *Tulasī* : A Study
-Dhananjay Vasudeo Dwivedi 62.77

(The) Role and Significance of German Indologists of the Nineteenth Century: A Study
-Dinesh Kumar Ojha 56.135

(The) ṚV. IV 40.5 *Haṁsavatī ṚC*- A Study
-Gauri Mahulikar 51.1-2.01

Saṅgnā and *Paribhāṣā* - A Relative Study on the Basis of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*
-Sudeshna Bhattacharya 56.93

Sanskrit Academy, Hyderabad
- K. Kamala 54.77

Sanskrit Poets and a Few Challenges
-Veneemadhava Shastri B. Joshi 56.125

Sanskrit Poetics as a Human Science
-Rabindra Kumar Panda 54.101

Sanskrit Prosody, Linguistics & Music
-Satyamurti 59.1-2.119

Śarīratātparyasaṁgraha of Rāmacandra Paṇḍit
-M.L.Wadekar 51.3-4.255

(The) *Sarpas, Sarpa*- People and the *Sarpavidyā : A Probe In to Sanskrit Texts*
-Madhavi R Narsalay 58.1-2.133

(The) Sarvopaniṣad: A Study
-Shweta S. Kaluskar 52.3-4.230

Scientific Literature in Sanskrit and its Relevance
-Bhagirathi Biswas 59.3-4.139

Sculpture from Thanasavali
-Dilip Rathod 53.71

Secondary Dilmun and the Kurus of the Kaliage
-Arunkumar 54.27

Significance of *Śikṣā-vallī Anuvāka* 11 of The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*
-S. Jena 62.43

Śikṣāpatrī - An Essence of Ethical Knowledge
-Kartik Pandya 59.1-2.131

Sītā-Rāmī
-Devika Pandya 52.1-2.47

Smārta - Varṇāśrama and Social Mobility
-Braja Kishore Swain 57.33

Social Status of *Devadāsī-Nityasumangalī*
-Sudha Jha 51.1-2.85

Some Aspects of Logical Grammar
-Rabindra Kumar Panda 51.1-2.47

Some Aspects of Medical Sciences In The *Śāstras* of Ancient India
- P.V.Vartak 52.3-4.191

Some Aspects of *Nyāya* Epistemology
-Rabindra Kumar Panda 52.3-4.241

Some Aspects of The Iconography of Viṣṇu
-G. B. Deglurkar 60.3-4.21

Some Aspects of *Vāstuśāstra* Reflected in the Vedas
-M.L.Wadekar 56.01

Some Models for Doctoral Research in Manuscriptology
-Rabindra Kumar Panda 58.3-4.235

Some Noteworthy Sanskrit *Mahākāvyas* of Twentieth Century (1970-2000 A.D)
-Rabindra Kumar Panda 52.1-2.85

Some Observations on Interpreting the *Saundaryalaharī* of Śaṅkarācārya
-M.L. Wadekar 57.69

Some Problems in Translating and Interpreting the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*
-M.L. Wadekar 54.59

Some Relevant Aspects and Applications of *Vāstuśāstra* in Modern Context with Special Reference to the Urban Habitat
-Kartik Pandya 61.143

Some Remarks on Vedic Interpretation in the Light of the *Ṛjubhāṣyam*
-M.L. Wadekar 51.1-2.09

(The) Spiritual Path of Devotion: The *Vīraśaiva* Perspective
-Dan A. Chekki 60.1-2.21

Śrīmadbhāgavatapurāṇa's Uṣā-Aniruddha-Kathā and *Gujarātī Okhāharaṇa* - A Comparative Study
-Usha Brahmachari 60.3-4.41

Stages of Development in Shri Aurobindo's 'Human Cycle'
-Harsiddha M. Joshi 51.3-4.291

State - management in Ancient India: (With Special reference to Sovereignity and Finance)
-Braja Kishore Swain 53.55

(A) Study of Metarules Based on *Śāstra*
-Ratish Chandra Jha 60.1-2.01

(The) Study of Sanskrit by Western Scholars of the Nineteenth Century: It's Impact on Indian Historiography
-Dinesh Kumar Ojha 55.99

Sudāmacaritam of Puṇḍarīkākṣa Miśra: A Study
-Rabindra Kumar Panda 55.89

Śulka in The Indian Tradition
-Urmi Shah 59.1-2.35

(The) Sun as Viewed Scientifically by the Vedic Seers
-Manjula Devi 58.3-4.119

(The) *Sūryaśataka* and its Commentaries
-Deviprasad Mishra 52.3-4.265

Tantra Works by the Oriental Institute of Baroda
-Sharmila Bagchi 53.139

(The) Teachings of Karman - A Vedic Study	- Manjula Devi	54.09
(The) Tenets of *Sāṅkhya* Philosophy in the *Vāyupurāṇa*	- Meena P. Pathak	56.67
Textual Authority, Accretion and Suspicion: The Legacy of Horace Hayman Wilson in Western Studies of The Purāṇās	- Elizabeth Mary Rohlman	52.1-2.55
Therapeutic Aspects of Meditation	- Rajkumari Trikha	62.107
Three Commentaries on Words in Isolation : A Comparative Study	- Bhagyalata Pataskar	62.65
Toraṇa Architecture of Gujarat	- Shushmita Sen and Sunita J. Lakhani	59.1-2.85
Treatment of कित् ङित् प्रकरणम् (P.1.2.1-26) in the Post-pāṇinian Systems of Sanskrit Grammar	- Narayan Prasad	58.3-4.147
Trend-setter Sanskrit Scholar Mahārāja Mānsinh	- Siddharth Wakankar	52.3-4.297
Trends of Modern Historiography: It's Impact on Early Indology	- Dinesh Kumar Ojha	54.67
Trita Āptya - A Mysterous Figure	- Gauri Mahulikar	54.01
Truth in Literature: Modern Sanskrit Poetry with Special Reference To *Sandhānam*	- Sharmila Bagchi	51.1-2.149
Two Less-Known Sculptures From Palwal (Haryana)	- Devendra Handa	59.3-4.111
Two Streams of Narrative in The Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*	- Rani Majumdar	52.1-2.19
Ultimate Reality and Meaning in the Indian War Science	- Urmi Shah	56.29
Unexplored Avenues in Classical Sanskrit Literature	- R.I. Nanavati	51.1-2.139
Usages of Bhaṭṭi Quoted but Unacknowledged by Puruṣottama	- Nilanjana S. Shah	51.1-2.37

Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍe and Bālambhaṭṭa Pāyaguṇḍe :
The Problem of their Identity
- Deviprasad Mishra 54.85

Value Education In Bhāsa's Plays
- Asawari V. Bhat 53.29

Vāmācāramatakhaṇḍana - A Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa's work, Refuting *Vāmācāra*
- Sharmila Bagchi 55.63

Vardhāpanavidhi in The *Atharvaveda* Tradition
- S0hilpa Sumant 62.49

Vedatrayi Or *Vedacatuṣṭayī* ?
- Shweta S. Kaluskar 53.11

Vedic Concept of *Anna* - the Primary Requirement of Being
- Sukumar Chattopadhyay 55.01

(The) Vedic Dialogue- Hymn of Purūravas and Urvaśī
- Egbert Richter Ushanas 58.1-2.01

Vedic Practices in the Society of the *Rāmāyaṇa* Age
- Manjula Devi 59.3-4.37

(The) Vedic River Sarasvatī
- V.G. Rao 51.1-2.15

Via-Negative in The Upaniṣads
- Sindhu Poudyal 62.27

Vicissitudes in *Dharma*
- Jaya Chemburkar 59.3-4.47

(The) *Vīraśaiva* Philosophy and Mysticism in The Lyrics of Siddharāma Śivayogī
- Dan A. Chekki 52.1-2.25

(The) *Vīraśaiva* Religious Tradition: Is it a Religion Distinct from Hinduism?
- Dan A. Chekki 57.01

(A) *Vratakathā* in *Padmapurāṇa* vis-a-vis *Meghadūtam*
- Arun Ranjan Mishra 58.3-4.195

What does the title '*Rāmāyaṇa*' Mean?
- Stephan Hillyer Levitt 57.41

Works attributed to Kālidāsa (With Special Reference to Two *Sarasvatīstotras*)
- M.L.Wadekar 55.31

Yāska's Reflections On "The Meaning of A Word".
- Bhagyalata Pataskar 53.17

(The) Yogic Expopsition of *Sattarka* in the Monistic Śaivism of Kāśmira
- Yatendra Dutt Amoli 58.3-4.139

III

REVIEW INDEX

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(A) Critical Review of ''औचित्य की दृष्टि से भवभूति के नाटकों का समीक्षात्मक अध्ययन'', by Dr. Ajay Kumar Jha, Pub. Paramamitra Prakashan, D- Pocket- 214, Dilshad Garden, Delhi- 110 095, pp. xvi + 340, I Ed. 2002, Price: Rs. 400/-.
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-Reviewed by Yogini G. Nighoskar 52.3-4.338

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- Reviewed by Usha Brahmachari 59.3-4.127

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-Reviewed by M.L.Wadekar 53.160

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-Reviewed by Sharmila Bagchi 54.152

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-Reviewed by M. L.Wadekar 57.156

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Volume II, by Prof. R. Sathyanarayana; Published by Indra Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, Central vista mess, Janpath, New Delhi - 110 001 & Motilal Banarasidass Publishers Private Limited. Bungalow Road, Jawaharnagar, Delhi - 110 007; 1996; pp. ix, 1 to 491; Price Rs. 650/-.
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Vyas and Rajani Vyas, Bhartiya Vidya Prakashana, Delhi, 2004;
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Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, Frist Edition 2007, pp. 188, Price: 295/-.
- Reviewed by Usha Brahmachari 58.1-2.111

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by Premalata Sharma, Published by Indira Gandhi Rastriya Kala Kendra
in Collaboration with Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited,
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Price: Rs. 1400/-.
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-Reviewed by Saswati Sen 51.1-2.215

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- Reviewed by Jayant P. Thaker 52.3-4.336

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- Reviewed by M. L. Wadekar 52.1-2.166

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- Reviewed by Pragna S. Kantawala 54.140

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- Reviewed by Yogini G. Nighoskar 52.3-4.339

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- Reviewed by R. K. Panda 51.3-4.340

IV
MISCELLANEOUS INDEX

OBITUARIES:

(Prof. Dr.) Anant Ganesh Javadekar
-M. L. Wadekar 51.3-4.323

(Prof. Dr.) Anantalal Thakur
-Dipak Bhattacharya 59.1-2.181

(Prof. Dr.) Harsiddha M. Joshi
-Nitin J. Vyas 51.3-4.326

(Shri) Jayant Premshankar Thaker
-M.L.Wadekar 56.221

(Prof. Dr.) S.G. Kantawala
-M.L. Wadekar 62.193

(Dr.) Keshvaram K. Shastri
-M. L. Wadekar 54.137

(Prof. Dr.) Labhshankar Mohanlal Joshi
-M. L. Wadekar 2.3-4.333

(Prof. Dr.) Mukund L. Wadekar
-S. Y. Wakankar 62.194

(Shri) Muniśrī Jambuvijayji Maharaj
-N.P. Jain 59.1-2.179

(Late. Dr.) Shantaram Ganesh Moghe
-Ramesh Kher 51.1-2.177

(Prof. Dr.) Tapasvi Nandi
-R. I. Nanavati 59.1-2.187

(Prof. Dr.) Vaman Mahadev Kulkarni
-S. Y. Wakankar 59.1-2.184

SELECT CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS:

-Usha Brahmachari
51.1-2.157 51.3-4.301 52.1-2.139
52.3-4.319 53.147 54.127
55.115 56.205 57.139
58.1-2.93 58.3-4.267 59.1-2.171
59.3-4.115 60.1-2.133 60.3-4.73
61.173 62.167

SULPPIMENTS:

The *Gopīnāthasaptaśatī* of Gopīnātha Miśra
(The M.S.University Oriental Series No. 21).
- M.L.Wadekar 52.1-2.1-32 52.3-4.33-69 53.i-xix

Index to Journal of the Oriental Institute Vol. XXVI-L 1976-2000
(The M.S.University Oriental Series No. 20.)
-Usha Brahmachari 51.3-4.1-206

Sanskrit Astronomical Instruments in the Maharaja Sayajirao University of
Baroda (The M.S.University Oriental Series No. 24.)
-Sreeramula Rajeshwara Sarma 58.1-2.1-46

Śatapraśnottarī of Ayodhyāprasāda. Edited by, S.Y. Wakankar
(The M.S.University Oriental Series No. 23).
-S.Y. Wakankar 57.1-30

Two Lectures on The Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa (The M.S.University Oriental
Series No. 22)
-Robert P. Goldman 55.1-39

Vedic Entities and Identities (Ethno-Archaeology of the Vedic-Period) (The
M.S.University Oriental Series No. 25).
-Pramod V. Pathak 60.1-2.1-106; 60.3-4.107-222

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